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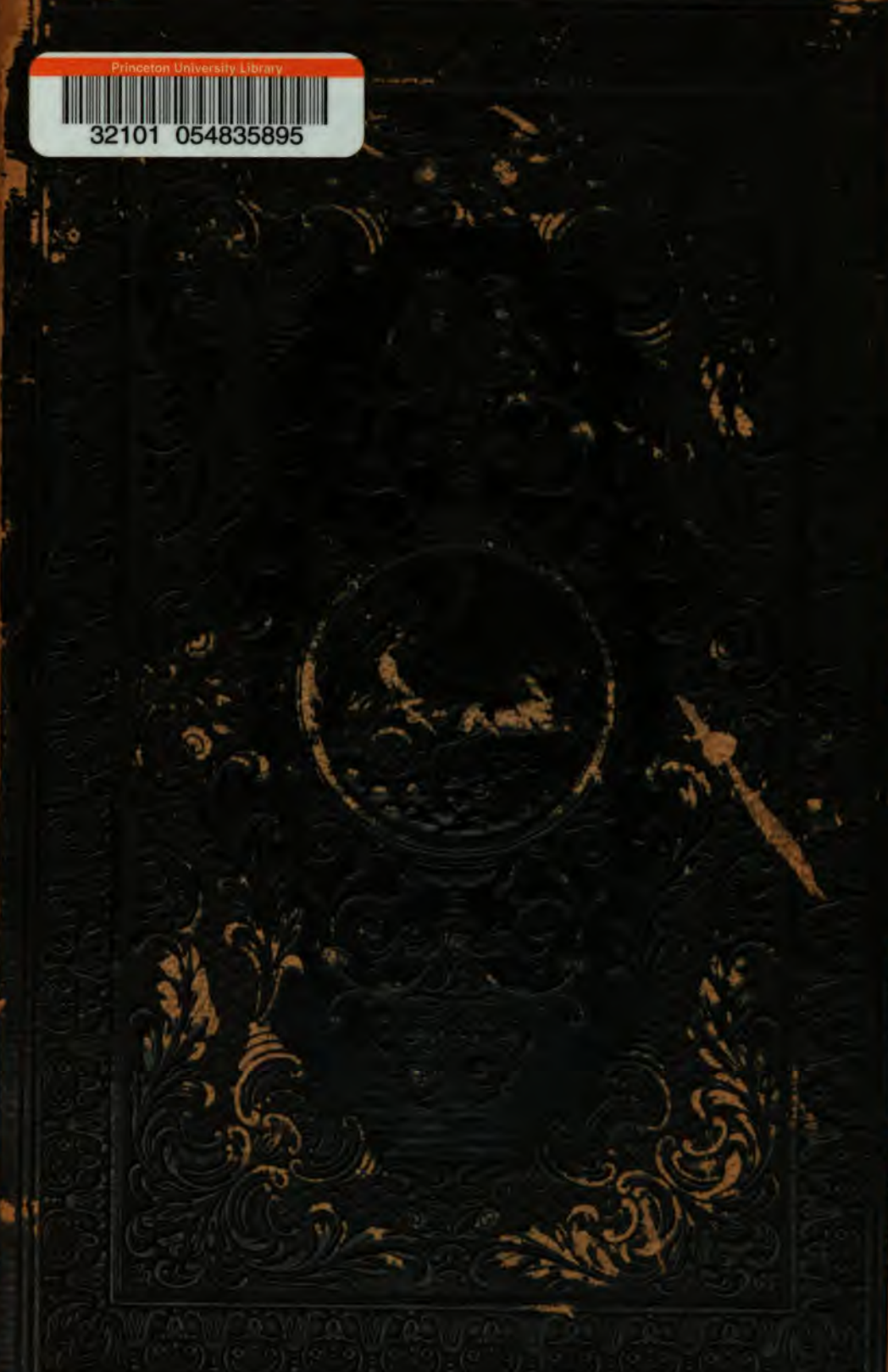

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CONDUCTED BY

JAMES B. LONGACRE, PHILADELPHIA; AND JAMES HERRING, NEW YORK:

Under the Superintendence of the American Academy of the Fine Arts.

VOLUME III.

"These are deeds which should not pass away,
And names that must not wither, though the earth
Forgets her empires with a just decay,
The enslavers and the enslaved, their death and birth."

PHILADELPHIA, HENRY PERKINS, 159 CHESTNUT STREET.
NEW YORK, MONSON BANCROFT, 389 BROADWAY.
LONDON, O. RICH, 12 RED LION SQUARE.

1836.

Entered according to the act of congress, in the year 1833, by JAMES HERRING, in the clerk's office of the district court of the southern district of New York.

Philadelphia:
Printed by James Kay, Jun. & Brother,
122 Chestnut Street.

ADDRESS.

If the conductors of the National Portrait Gallery, on the completion of the present volume, address their friends and the supporters of the work with more diffidence or less complacency than heretofore, it is not from any consciousness or apprehension of merited rebuke, at the result of their efforts to accomplish all that may have been expected.

The delay which has occurred in the execution of the work may appear unreasonable to such of their subscribers as are unacquainted with the cause: to such however it is only necessary to state, that the destruction of materials, and consequent interruption of the arrangements for publication, by successive fires, where important branches of the manufacture have been in operation, has been sufficient to occasion the disappointments in regard to a timely issue, from which all concerned have suffered. The conductors can however most confidently assure the friends of the work, that no exertions have been spared to remedy the damage referred to; and they indulge the hope, that however late in appearing, the fulfilment of their task will yet be received with a sympathetic welcome from those whom they have constantly laboured to please. They have indeed, from every section of our extended country, received the most gratifying assurances that their enterprise continues to be regarded by an enlightened people with interest and approbation.

The progress of the work has now been amply sufficient to demonstrate the public estimate of the value of the plan

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on which it has been conducted; and appears so generally satisfactory as to do away with the necessity of further explanations.

There has, however, one objection been raised, which may perhaps be repeated, relating to the introduction of living characters in a work of National Biography, to which it may not be improper at this time to advert, as there is a degree of interest attaching to this feature of the arrangement which should not be overlooked; and which will not fail to be appreciated by the future historian. Owing to the general circulation of intelligence, and the freedom of discussion, through the medium of the press in this country, the facts which may be given to the public during the lifetime of the individual to whom they relate, are from that circumstance subjected to a severer scrutiny as to their perfect accuracy, than is to be presumed, in general, of posthumous records; and in a retrospective consideration of the selections already made from among the living, in the progress of this work, it may safely be remarked, that few will now be found to regret the circumstance, to question the propriety of the time, or deny the additional interest which the seal of death has attached to the actions that the pages of the National Portrait Gallery have been permitted to record and verify, while the distinguished individuals were yet alive, of a Carroll, a Wirt, a Marshall, a White, a Livingston, a Hosack, or of the illustrious and venerable man whose aged, but still energetic and intelligent countenance introduces the present volume.

The value of the materials and the national interest of the subjects which have been received for the work, but which the limits of the parts already published, could not include, renders the publication of another volume indispensable to the present series.

JAMES B. LONGACRE.
JAMES HERRING.

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JAMES MADISON.

JAMES MADISON was born on the 5th of March, 1751, (O. S.) at the dwelling of his maternal grandmother opposite to Port Royal, a town on the south side of the Rappahannock, in Virginia. The house of his parents, James Madison and Nelly Conway, was in Orange county, where he has always resided. In his father's lifetime it was a plain brick building, to which Mr. MADISON added porticoes with extensive colonnades in front and rear, and other improvements. Situated on the west side of the south-west mountain, at the foot of the Blue Ridge, about five and twenty miles from Charlottesville, it is remarkable for the beauty of the scenery and the purity of the air; and likewise that within a short distance of each other, in that region, three presidents of the United States, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, all resided, as closely connected in personal attachment as political faith, who have impressed on the country a large share of the policy and distinction of these United States.

After passing through the usual elementary education, Mr. MADISON was placed, at about twelve years of age, under the tuition of Donald Robertson, a distinguished teacher in that neighborhood, with whom he accomplished the common preparatory studies for a collegiate course. These studies were further prosecuted under the Reverend Thomas Martin, the parish minister, of the established church of England, who was engaged as private tutor in his father's family.

The climate of Williamsburgh being deemed uncongenial with persons from the mountain region, Mr. MADISON, instead of being put at the college of William and Mary, was sent to that of Princeton, N. J., of which Dr. Wotherspoon was then president; where he completed his college education, and received the degree of bachelor of arts in the autumn of 1771. Mr. MADISON always retained a lively recollection of Dr. Wotherspoon's learning, and often indulged the inclination, which throughout life characterized him, of sprightly narrative

and imitation, by playfully repeating the doctor's curious remarks in a broad Scotch accent. While at college, his health was impaired by over-ardent study: it continued feeble in consequence, during some years after his return home. He had laid the deep foundations of those attainments, habits, and principles, which gradually, but without fail, raised him to after eminence: and when he got home, with ruined health, far from neglecting literary pursuits, he persevered in extensive and systematic reading, somewhat miscellaneous, but not without reference to the profession of the law, although he formed no absolute determination to enter upon the practice; which Burke says, while it sharpens the wits, does not always enlarge the mind. Mr. MADISON studied probably just law enough, but his breeding was altogether that of a statesman; an American statesman, for he never was out of his own country; and though it has often, truly, been said, that he would have made a great chief justice of the United States, yet his studies and acquirements were free from all technical or professional restraint, and his seldom if ever equalled power of reasoning was always exercised on a large scale, and philosophical comprehension of the subject matter. From nature, from habit, it may be even from the imperfect state of health to which he was reduced at the outset of his career, his was the most passionless course of education and elevation. He never addressed a passion or required a prejudice: but relying on reason alone for every conviction, he effected his purpose without any appeal to prejudices. His political principles do not differ so much from his great predecessor's, Mr. Jefferson's, as his manner of imbibing and imparting them. Taking nothing for granted, by intuition, or sympathy, he worked out every result like a problem to be proved. No one was ever more inflexibly attached to the principles of his adoption: but then he always adopted them on earnest consideration and sufficient authority, before he gave them his affections. They were not his natural offspring.

Having received very early and strong impressions in favor of liberty, both civil and religious, he embarked with the prevalent zeal in the American cause at the beginning of the dispute with Great Britain; but his devotion to study, and his impaired health, probably prevented his performing any military service. Devoted to freedom of conscience, he was particularly active in opposing the persecution of the Baptists, then a new sect in Virginia, who were consigned in some instances to jail for violating the law prohibiting preaching by dissenters from the established church. Throughout life he was remarkable for strict adherence to the American doctrine of absolute separation

between civil and religious authority; and one of his vetoes, while president, attested, that in advanced station and age, the principles early taken upon this subject were as dear to him as at first, when he was but a young and gratuitous reformer.

In the spring of 1776, when twenty-five years of age, he was initiated into the public service, from which he rarely afterwards was absent for forty years of constantly rising eminence, till it was all crowned by that spontaneous retirement from the highest station which is itself the crown of American republicanism. His first election was to the legislature of Virginia, which, in May of that year, anticipated the declaration of independence by unanimously instructing the deputies of that state to propose it.

It is a signal proof of Mr. MADISON's merits, that in this assembly, being surrounded by experienced and distinguished members, he modestly refrained from any active part in its proceedings; and never tried that talent for public debate which afterwards he displayed so eminently. Beyond committee duty and private suggestions, he was unknown in the assembly. At the succeeding county election he was superseded by another competitor. His failure was partly owing to his declining to treat the electors; but in no small degree to the diffidence which restrained him from giving fair play to his faculty of speech, and active participation in public affairs. His refusal to treat, because he held it inconsistent with the purity of elections, may be a lesson to the ambitious, and not unworthy the notice of the temperate In one of the first steps of his public life, he sacrificed success to that purity, sobriety, and it may be said chastity, of conduct, from which he never swerved. Because, as was imputed, he would not treat, and could not speak, JAMES MADISON lost his election!

But the legislature, in the course of the ensuing session, repaired this popular defection by appointing him member of the council of state, which place he held till 1779, when he was elected a delegate to the congress of the revolution. During the first part of his service in the council, Patrick Henry was governor of the state; and during the latter part of it, Mr. Jefferson. Both these personages experienced and appreciated the importance of Mr. MADISON's assistance, knowledge, and judgment, in a station which did not put his natural modesty to the severe trial of public display. His information, patriotism, perfect probity, and unpretending worth, gained for him the first fruits of his maturing character. He proved himself a safe and serviceable man; recommendations, without which brilliancy is often troublesome, and always useless.

Mr. Jefferson used to say, that Mr. MADISON rendered himself very acceptable to the members of the legislature by his amiable deportment, and by the services he performed in drafting reports, bills, &c., for them. It was this that recommended him for election the next winter as a member of the executive council, where his talents for writing and for business generally, particularly his acquaintance with the French language, of which Governor Henry was ignorant, and which was necessary to the executive of Virginia, in their then constant intercourse with French officers, soon made Mr. MADISON the most efficient member of the council. He wrote so much for Governor Henry, that Mr. Jefferson said he was called the governor's secretary. This council was, moreover, the best adapted stage for his first essays as a public speaker: not consisting of more than ten persons, their debates were less trying to a modest man. So extreme was Mr. MADISON's diffidence, that it was Mr. Jefferson's opinion, that if his first public appearance had taken place in such an assembly as the house of representatives of the United States, Mr. MADISON would never have been able to overcome his aversion to display. But by practice, first in the executive council of Virginia, and afterwards in the old congress, which was likewise a small body, he was gradually habituated to speech-making in public, in which he became so powerful.

Elected to congress, he took his seat in that body in March, 1780; and was continued there by reëlections till the expiration of the allowed term, computed from the ratification of the articles of confederation in 1781. From the spring of 1780 to the fall of 1783, the journals show, what is known to all, that he became an active and leading member of congress, taking prominent part in many of the most important transactions. The letter of instructions to Mr. Jay, American minister in Spain, in October 1780, maintaining the right of the United States to the Mississippi river, and the address to the states at the close of the war, urging the adoption of the plan providing for the debts due to the army, and the other public creditors, were composed by him, and are some of the earliest of his contributions to those American state papers which, during the infancy of the United States, were among their most powerful means of conservation and advancement.

In the years 1784, '5, and '6, he was elected a delegate by his county to the state legislature: and it is worthy of remark, that one reason why Virginia was always fruitful of statesmen of the first rank, is, that they constantly, all of them, sought seats in the state assembly, where such men both acquired and conferred the experience and

knowledge which make statesmen. During Mr. MADISON's service in this capacity, it was his primary object to explain and inculcate the pressing necessity of a reform in the federal system, and to promote the means leading to such amelioration. The independence of the United States was recognised rather than established. More perfect union was indispensable to their general welfare. The pressure of war being withdrawn, nationality almost disappeared amid the conflicting interests of many independent states, languid with exhaustion, after the struggle almost in conflict with each other, and in obvious danger of a deplorable relapse. The unsuccessful attempt to vest congress with powers immediately required for the public wants, led to the meeting at Annapolis in August, 1786, to which Mr. MADISON was deputed, and which resulted in a recommendation of the convention with fuller powers, at Philadelphia, in May, 1787. The state of Virginia promptly set the example of compliance with this recommendation, by an act drawn by Mr. MADISON, and by the appointment of a deputation, in which he was included. The tenor of that act, and the selection of the delegates, with Washington at their head, manifest her solicitude on the occasion.

From 1784 to 1786, inclusive, beside what related to the federal system, several subjects of great importance were agitated in the Virginia legislature: paper money, British debts, the separation of Kentucky from Virginia, the code of laws revised by Jefferson, Wythe, and Pendleton, and the religious establishment proposed by Mr. Henry: Mr. MADISON took a conspicuous and effective part in all these proceedings; against paper emissions, in favor of paying British debts, in favor of the separation of Kentucky, in support generally of the revised code, and in opposition to a religious establishment. To the latter project he was strenuously and successfully an explicit antagonist; and he composed the memorial and remonstrance, which was so generally concurred in and signed by persons of all denominations, as to crush Mr. Henry's scheme.

The journal of the federal convention which sat at Philadelphia in 1787, proves that he participated as much as any member of that body in framing the constitution of the United States, which for now nearly fifty years has been the government of this country. A letter from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Adams the elder, which has been published, states, as is otherwise well authenticated, that Mr. MADISON preserved the debates of that convention at much length and with great exactness: and there is reason to believe, that in due time this precious minute will be given to the community. For many years the survivor

of all his associates in that illustrious assembly, Mr. MADISON is entitled by various claims to be called the father of the constitution. As a leading member of the convention which framed the government, of the congresses which organized it, of the administration of Mr. Jefferson, which conducted it for a long time in the path it has since for the most part followed, and finally as the head of his own administration in its most trying time, when the exigencies of war were superadded to the occasions of peace, no individual has impressed more of his mind, either theoretically or practically, on it, than JAMES MADISON.

During the same period, and until the expiration of the old congress, to which he had been reappointed in 1786, he continued a member of that body. His avowed object in returning there, was to prevent, if possible, the project, favored by congress, of shutting up the river Mississippi for a long period. That measure, besides other causes of complaint, threatened to alienate Kentucky, then a part of Virginia, from any increase of the federal powers. If the magnificent and inexhaustible south-west now teaches us by overwhelming lessons the impolicy of any thing tending to deprive the United States of such immense resources, let the foresight of Mr. MADISON, and such other statesmen as strained every nerve to avert that misfortune, be appreciated as it should be, not only throughout that region, but everywhere in the United States.

In the interval between the close of the convention at Philadelphia for framing the federal constitution, and the meeting of the state conventions to sanction it, the well-known work called the Federalist was written, which has since become a constitutional text-book. Gideon's edition authenticates Mr. MADISON's contributions to it, and it is too well known to require that in this sketch of his life it should be dwelt upon.

Till his country was secured, and its welfare established by a proper form of national government, Mr. MADISON was constant and indefatigable in his endeavors to explain and recommend it for adoption. Accordingly, in 1788, he was elected by his county a delegate to the convention of Virginia, which was to determine whether that state would accede to it. His agency in the proceedings of that convention appears in the printed account of them, and is too familiar with every person whose attention has been turned to the subject, to require explanation.

On the adoption of the constitution, he was elected a representative to congress from the district in which he lived, in February, 1789, and remained a member by reëlections till March, 1797. His participa-

tion during those eight years in all the acts and deliberations of con gress, was so prominent and pervading, that nothing of importance took place without his instrumentality, and in most of the leading measures his was the leading place; especially in all that concerned foreign relations. Addressing the house on all important questions, he never spoke without full preparation; and so completely exhausted every topic he discussed, that it was remarked by his adversaries that Mr. MADISON'S refutation of their views frequently suggested arguments which they themselves had not thought of, to be answered by him in the same triumphant strain of calm and respectful, but irresistible reasoning. Every one knows that in the formation of parties under the lead of Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Hamilton respectively, Mr. MADISON took side with the former, or what was called the democratic party, contradistinguished from what was called the federal party, particularly on the great dividing questions of the bank and the British treaty. But there never was any personal estrangement between him and Washington; and throughout the lives of both, each did full justice to the talents, principles, and patriotism of the other. Nor did Mr. MADISON, however differing from much of the politics of Hamilton, ever entertain any but the highest opinion of his abilities, services, and good intentions.

In 1794 he married Mrs. Todd, the widow of a respectable lawyer of Philadelphia; a lady of Virginia parentage, of most amiable disposition and engaging deportment, whose constant attachment and excellent temper, her courtesy to all persons while her husband was president, and her unintermitting attentions to him afterwards, when enfeebled by age and infirmity, rendered his connection with her what he never ceased to consider it, as the happiest event of his life.

The celebrated resolutions of the legislature of Virginia, in 1798, against the alien and sedition laws, are now known to have been written by Mr. MADISON, though not a member of that legislature. And it being understood that a vindication of those resolutions would be called for, he was elected a member the next year, and drew up the yet more celebrated report containing the vindication, which, like the papers of the Federalist, has become an acknowledged standard of constitutional doctrine. These state papers have been much appealed to latterly, during the nullification controversy, and though sometimes partially misrepresented, cannot be misunderstood when properly explained and considered. For under whatever state of excitement, either between contending parties of his own country, or between it and foreign nations, Mr. MADISON'S numerous and admirable state

papers may have been drawn up, there is a tone of moderation, as well as an abiding earnestness, candor, and force of truth about them, together with a simplicity of diction and plainness of argument, that prevent either misrepresentation or refutation.

In 1801, he was appointed one of the Virginia electors of president and vice president, and voted with all the rest of his associates for Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr.

Mr. Jefferson, after the well-known struggle that preceded his election, being chosen president of the United States in 1801, appointed Mr. MADISON his secretary of state, in which office he continued during the eight years of Jefferson's presidency, illustrating the whole period by his masterly writings, judicious suggestions, and unexceptionable conduct. This is not the occasion for a full view of his performances in the department of state: but it may be said, in a word, that of all the great disputes on international and municipal law, evolved by an epoch that at last, after unexampled forbearance and efforts to avert hostilities, closed with the war which it was Mr. MADISON's destiny to conduct as chief magistrate,—the complicated questions of the conflicting rights of war and peace, colonial commerce, contraband trade, impressment of seamen, search and seizure of ships and cargoes, blockades, embargoes, non-importation and non-intercourse,—there was not one which Mr. MADISON did not present to his country and before the world with a power of research, of argument, and of reasoning, unsurpassed in the annals of diplomatic writing. In 1805, he visited Philadelphia, for more convenient access to the best treatises on the subject of a pamphlet he published in 1806, on the British doctrine against the trade of neutrals with enemies' colonies. Throughout every succeeding year, the public was constantly enlightened by his elaborate productions, which every session of congress brought forth. On the question of impressment, the most trying and also the most perplexing of the grievances to which the United States were then subjected, his letters to the American ministers in England, and the British ministers in this country, were composed with a power equal to all we could desire, and in a temper which it was impossible for them to take offence at. It has been said with perfect truth, that give Mr. MADISON the right side of a good cause, and no man could equal him in its vindication. The department of state at that time was the main stay of the country. Doubting the ability of the United States to contend in war with the great belligerants who were devastating the universe by land and sea; at all events, deeply interested in adhering to that system of neutrality which Washington established

and to which no one was more thoroughly attached than Mr. MADISON; his exertions to substitute the moral artillery of that department for brute force, were incessant and intense. Although the war he tried so hard to prevent came at last, in spite of his exertions and Mr. Jefferson's immoveable determination to go out of office in peace; yet the legacy of trouble which was left by him to Mr. MADISON when he succeeded to the presidency, was at any rate preceded by a theory of prevailing if not perpetual peace in that code of international justice and fair intercourse, which is now a goodly part of the inheritance of these United States, and a national property that all other civilized nations have begun to appreciate. That free ships make free goods, was a principle deemed by Mr. MADISON a legitimate part of the law of nations, and the best guarantee for maritime peace. Peace on earth and good-will to all mankind, were always principles dear to him. War he considered only and rarely tolerable as a necessary evil, to be kept off as long, and whenever it takes place, to be closed as soon, as possible.

With these impressions, it was nevertheless his lot to be president during the war which was declared against Great Britain in June, 1812. In 1809, he was elected president, on the retirement of Mr. Jefferson: and excepting the short glimpse of accommodation which proceeded from Mr. Erskine's short-lived arrangement, the first period of his chief magistracy was but the prelude to the war which accompanied his reëlection. His inaugural addresses, annual messages, frequent special communications to congress, his proclamation for a fast, with the particular grounds on which it was issued, his letters to Governor Snyder of Pennsylvania in the Olmstead case, his recommendation of war, his conduct of the war, his various missions for peace, the peace of Ghent negotiated under his auspices, his settlement of the army, the navy, and the internal revenue, at the close of the war, his veto, on one of the last days of his administration, of the great system of internal improvement introduced by some of those who have since relinquished it as unconstitutional—these, together with the bank of the United States, may be deemed the principal measures of his plan of the federal government. Too many of the actors in those scenes are yet living and in public life, to render it proper to do more than merely indicate these measures. Before long, they will be treated by history and judged by posterity. But already, before Mr. MADISON's demise, there appeared to be well-nigh one universal sentiment of cordial respect and deference towards him as a patriot of the purest intentions and wisest conduct. Undertaking the presidency at a crisis

of the utmost difficulty, he continued in it, by reëlection, during the established period of eight years, and when he retired, left the country in the highest degree glorious, prosperous, and content. It cannot be but that future ages must look back to his administration as a time of great trial and great renown. The constitution which had succeeded in peace, under his governance triumphed in war. Hostilities were indeed checkered with the reverses which seldom fail to occur. But under all circumstances, Mr. MADISON was the same. Victory never elated, disasters never depressed him beyond measure; always calm, consistent, and conscientious, there was confidence that he would do right, come what might. Exposed to that deluge of abuse which the leading men of free countries, with a licentious press, cannot avoid, he was perfectly serene and unmoved by any vindictive emotion; true to friends, patient with adversaries, resolute but forbearing even with public enemies. All the emergencies of war never once betrayed him into infringements of the constitution. It has been stated on high authority, that while a candidate for the presidency, no one, however intimate, ever heard him open his lips or say one word on the subject. While president, he underwent torrents of calumny without the slightest complaint. If the uncomfortable necessity of being obliged to remove a secretary of state, or of war, or a postmaster-general, crossed his path, he performed the disagreeable duty with all possible gentleness, but with inflexible firmness. Constitutionally simple and unostentatious in his habits, tastes, and intercourse, he still sustained the dignity belonging to such a life and such a station as his.

At about sixty-six years of age he retired from public life, and ever after resided on his estate in Virginia, except about two months while at Richmond as a member of the convention in 1829, which sat there to remould the constitution of that state. His farm, his books, his friends, and his correspondence, were the sources of his enjoyment and occupation, during the twenty years of his retirement. During most of that time his health, never robust, was as good as usual, and he partook with pleasure of the exercise and the conviviality in which he had always enjoyed himself. A good farmer on a large scale, he acted for some time as president of an agricultural society, and for a much longer time, first as visiter, and after Mr. Jefferson's death, as rector of the University of Virginia, located at Charlottesville, in his neighborhood; among whose founders and friends he bore a conspicuous part. Prevailed upon, when just convalescent from severe illness, to be a member of the Virginia convention of 1829, the infirm condition of his health, being then near eighty years old, prevented his

taking a very active part in its deliberations. His main purpose, indeed, appears to have been to promote a compromise between parties so stiffly divided on local and personal interests as to threaten the tranquillity of the state. On some of the principal topics discussed, he is understood to have yielded his own opinions to that consideration, as well as the urgent instances of his constituents.

At eighty-five years of age, though much reduced by debility, his mind was bright, his memory retentive, and his conversation highly instructive and delightful. Suffering with disease, he never repined. Serene, and even lively, he still loved to discuss the constitution, to inculcate the public good, and to charge his friends with blessings for his country. He was long one of the most interesting shrines to which its votaries repaired: a relic of republican virtue which none could contemplate without reverence and edification.

On the 28th of June, 1836, he died; as serene, philosophical, and calm in the last moments of existence, as he had been in all the trying occasions of life.

We cannot close this brief account of the life and public services of Mr. MADISON more appropriately, than by the following extract from the proceedings in the house of representatives of the United States, when the annunciation of his death was made by the president to both houses of congress.

"WASHINGTON, *June* 30, 1836.

"*To the Senate and House of Representatives.*

"It becomes my painful duty to announce to you the melancholy intelligence of the death of JAMES MADISON, ex-president of the United States. He departed this life at half past six o'clock, on the morning of the 28th inst., full of years and of honor.

"I hasten this communication, in order that congress may adopt such measures as may be proper to testify their sense of the respect which is due to the memory of one whose life has contributed so essentially to the happiness and glory of his country, and to the good of mankind.

"ANDREW JACKSON."

The message having been read, and the house addressed by Mr. Patton, of the Virginia delegation, who offered the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed on the part of this house, to join such committee as may be appointed on the part of the senate, to consider and report by what token of respect and affection it may be proper for the congress of the United States to express the deep

sensibility of the nation to the event of the decease of Mr. MADISON, just announced by the president of the United States to this house."

On the reading of the resolution, the following remarks were made by Mr. Adams, the only surviving ex-president of the United States, and then a member of the house of representatives.

"It is not without some hesitation, and some diffidence, that I have risen to offer in my own behalf, and in that of my colleagues upon this floor, and of our common constituents, to join our voice, at once of mourning and of exultation, at the event announced to both houses of congress by the message from the president of the United States—of mourning, at the bereavement which has befallen our common country by the decease of one of her most illustrious sons—of exultation, at the spectacle afforded to the observation of the civilized world, and for the emulation of after times, by the close of a life of usefulness and of glory, after forty years of service in trusts of the highest dignity and splendor that a confiding country could bestow, succeeded by twenty years of retirement and private life, not inferior, in the estimation of the virtuous and the wise, to the honors of the highest station that ambition can ever attain.

"Of the public life of JAMES MADISON, what could I say that is not deeply impressed upon the memory and upon the heart of every one within the sound of my voice? Of his private life, what but must meet an echoing shout of applause from every voice within this hall? Is it not in a preëminent degree by emanations from his mind, that we are assembled here as the representatives of the people and states of this union? Is it not transcendantly by his exertions that we address each other here by the endearing appellation of countrymen and fellow-citizens? Of that band of benefactors of the human race, the founders of the constitution of the United States, JAMES MADISON is the last who has gone to his reward. Their glorious work has survived them all. They have transmitted the precious bond of union to us, now entirely a succeeding generation to them. May it never cease to be a voice of admonition to us of our duty to transmit the inheritance unimpaired to our children of the rising age."

MRS. MADISON.

THE parents of DOLLY PAYNE were natives of Virginia, and ranked among the most respectable citizens of the state. While on a visit to some of her friends in North Carolina, Mrs. Payne gave birth to her eldest daughter, the subject of this memoir, who, although accidentally born in another state, claims the title, so dear to all who possess it, of being a *Virginian*. In disposition she is decidedly so, having been imbued by nature with all that warmth, frankness, and generosity, which are the distinguishing traits of the Virginian character.

Soon after their marriage, Mr. and Mrs. Payne joined the society of Friends, or Quakers, manumitted their slaves, and removed to Pennsylvania. The subject of this memoir was educated in Philadelphia, according to the strict system of the society to which her family belonged; a system which has utility for its basis, and which forbids the acquirement of those graceful and ornamental accomplishments, which are too generally considered the most important parts of female education.

Whatever grace and polish, dancing, music, painting, and foreign languages may bestow, many most lovely examples among the women of this society, prove that these accomplishments may be dispensed with without any diminution of the attractions of the sex.

To none of these acquired graces and accomplishments was MISS PAYNE indebted, for the admiration and regard which followed her wherever she was known: nor were her attractions only those of form or feature, for although nature had lavished on her much personal beauty, her greatest charm consisted in the warm heart that lent its glow to her cheek, and its sparkle to her eye,—the kindness and benevolence of her disposition, which imparted a fascinating smile to her lips, and a beaming brightness to her countenance. These were charms that won her not only admirers but friends, and which the withering effects of time cannot destroy, but which "at sixty, bloom as fair as at sixteen."

Although nature was prodigal, fortune was niggard in its gifts; nor in her early life was she indebted to wealth or rank for the consideration she enjoyed in society.

At an early age Miss Payne was married to Mr. Todd, a young lawyer of Philadelphia, and a member of the society of Friends. During his lifetime she continued to live in the simplicity and seclusion of that sect, though even then, the beauty which became afterwards so celebrated, began to attract attention. Soon, however, she was left a widow with an infant son. After the death of her husband, her father also being dead, she returned to live with her surviving parent, who had fixed her residence in Philadelphia.

The personal charms of the young widow, united as they were with manners, cordial, frank, and gay, excited the admiration and awakened the kind feelings of all who came within their influence; and, unaided by the extrinsic and accidental advantages of fortune or fashion, she became a general favorite, and the object not only of admiration, but of serious and devoted attachment. Among many lovers, equally distinguished by their rank and talents, who sued for her favor, she gave the preference to Mr. Madison, then one of the most conspicuous and respectable members of congress; and in the year 1794, became the wife of that truly great and good man.

From that time until Mr. Madison came into the administration along with Mr. Jefferson, she lived in the full enjoyment of that abundant and cordial hospitality, which is the distinguishing characteristic of a Virginia planter. The house was always filled to overflowing with guests, who came, not ceremoniously invited to formal entertainments, but freely and kindly bidden to the hospitable board, and social pleasures of the domestic circle. Her widowed mother and orphan sisters were made partners of the bounties and blessings lavished on her by a kind Providence; and the fond affection of her husband was evinced by the regard and kindness he showed to all whom she loved and cherished, and on her part was reciprocated by a similar attention to the happiness and comfort of his aged mother, who continued to dwell with her son.

In this situation, Mrs. Madison appeared to be in the very sphere for which nature had designed her. Her circumstances were in perfect accordance with her disposition, and the liberal gifts of fortune were liberally participated with all around her. The happiness she herself enjoyed, she bestowed on others; and the sunshine of her own bosom gladdened with its warmth and brightness the little world of which she was the centre—her family and friends.

Mr. Madison being appointed secretary of state, removed with his family from his happy home to Washington, in April, 1801.

The infant metropolis of the union was at that time almost a wilderness. The president's house stood unenclosed on a piece of waste and barren ground, separated from the capitol by an almost impassable marsh. That building was not half completed, and standing as it did amidst the rough masses of stone and other materials collected for its construction, and half hidden by the venerable oaks that still shaded their native soil, looked more like a ruin in the midst of its fallen fragments and coeval shades, than a new and rising edifice. The silence and solitude of the surrounding space were calculated to enforce this idea; for beyond the capitol hill, far as the eye could reach, the city as it was called, lay in a state of nature, covered with thick groves and forest trees, wide and verdant plains, with only here and there a house along the intersecting ways, that could not yet be properly called streets.

The original proprietors of the grounds on which the city was located, retained their rural residences and their habits of living. The new inhabitants who thronged to the seat of government, came from every quarter of the Union, bringing with them the modes and customs of their respective states. Mr. Madison from Virginia, Mr. Gallatin from Pennsylvania, General Dearborn from Massachusetts, and Robert Smith from Maryland, were the heads of the several departments of government. With these came numerous political friends and dependants, to fill the subordinate places in the public offices.

A society formed of such various materials, presented a most novel aspect. Unconnected by similarity of habits—by established fashions—by the ties of acquaintance or consanguinity—this motley throng soon became united into one close and intimate circle, by a feeling common to all,—they were strangers in a strange land, and felt the necessity of mutual aid and accommodation, and might be compared to a beautiful piece of mosaic, in which an infinity of separate pieces of diversified colors, are blended into one harmonious whole. Mr. Jefferson, many years after his retirement from public life, recurring to that time, remarked to a friend, that the peculiar felicity of his administration was, the unanimity that prevailed in his cabinet; "we were," said he, "like one family." The same spirit of union and kindness pervaded the whole circle of society—a circle, at that time, very limited in its extent, and very simple in its habits. The most friendly and social intercourse prevailed through all its parts, unshackled by that etiquette and ceremony, which have since been

introduced, to the no small detriment of social enjoyment. The president's house was the seat of hospitality, where Mrs. MADISON always presided, (in the absence of Mr. Jefferson's daughters,) when there were female guests. After the president's, the house of the secretary of state was the resort of most company. The frank and cordial manners of its mistress, gave a peculiar charm to the frequent parties there assembled. All foreigners who visited the seat of government; strangers from the different states of the union; the heads of departments; the diplomatic corps; senators, representatives, citizens, mingled with an ease and freedom, a sociability and gayety, to be met with in no other society. Even party spirit, virulent and embittered as it then was, by her gentleness was disarmed of its asperity. Individuals, who never visited at the president's, nor met at the other ministerial houses, could not resist the softening influences of her conciliatory disposition, of her frank and gracious manners, but frequented her evening circle and sat at her husband's table—a table that was covered with the profusion of Virginian hospitality, rather than with the elegance and refinement of European taste. The lady of a foreign minister was once ridiculing the enormous size and number of the dishes with which the board was loaded, and observed, that it was more like a harvest-home supper, than the entertainment of a secretary of state. Mrs. MADISON heard of this and similar remarks, and only observed with a smile, that she thought abundance was preferable to elegance; that circumstances formed customs, and customs formed taste; and as the profusion, so repugnant to foreign customs, arose from the happy circumstance of the superabundance and prosperity of our country, she did not hesitate to sacrifice the delicacy of European taste, for the less elegant, but more liberal fashion of Virginia. The many poor families daily supplied from that profusely spread table, would have had reason to regret the introduction of European fashion, had Mrs. MADISON been prevailed on to submit to its dictation.

During the eight years that Mr. Madison was secretary of state, he and his family lived with the inhabitants of Washington as with fellow-citizens; receiving and reciprocating civilities in the most kind and friendly manner. The secretary himself, being wholly absorbed in public business, left to Mrs. MADISON the discharge of the duties of social intercourse. And never was a woman better calculated for the task. Exposed, as she necessarily must have been in so conspicuous a situation, to envy, jealousy, and misconstruction, she so managed as to conciliate the good-will of all, without ever offending the self-love

of any of the numerous competitors for her favor and attention. Every visiter left her with the pleasing impression of being an especial favorite, of having been the object of peculiar attention. She never forgot a name she had once heard, nor a face she had once seen, nor the personal circumstances connected with every individual of her acquaintance. Her quick recognition of persons; her recurrence to their peculiar interests, produced the gratifying impression, in each and all of those who conversed with her, that they were especial objects of regard.

Her house was very plainly furnished, and her dress in no way extravagant. It was only in hospitality and in charity that her profusion was unchecked, and sometimes made her sensible that her income was not equal to her wishes.

When the term of Mr. Jefferson's presidency drew near its close, the spirit of political intrigue which had lain dormant, was again roused into activity. A new president was to be chosen, and there were several competitors for the people's favor. Each had partisans, zealous and untiring in the canvass, who left no means unemployed to ensure success. Private society felt the baneful influence of these political intrigues; social intercourse was embittered by party spirit; personal confidence was so often violated, that a degree of circumspection became necessary, almost incompatible with that frankness and candor, which constitutes the charm of intimate society.

In these trying times Mrs. Madison appeared to peculiar advantage; her husband was assailed with all the violence of political animosity, and calumnies invented where facts were wanting. Amid this cruel warfare of conflicting parties, so calculated to excite angry feelings, Mrs. Madison, who felt every attack on her husband more keenly than any made on herself, (and such were not wanting,) met these political assailants with a mildness, which disarmed their hostility of its individual rancor, and sometimes even converted political enemies into personal friends, and still oftener succeeded in neutralizing the bitterness of opposition. In accordance with her husband's wishes, she continued her civilities, uninfluenced by party politics, whilst Mr. Madison, with the imperturbable serenity of unimpeachable integrity, viewed with philosophic indifference the violence, injustice, and turbulence of the political combatants. He considered the assaults of the press, only as proof of its freedom, and that the angry feelings which found a vent through this medium, were far less dangerous than if restricted by legal prohibition; he believed that when the effervescence of popular excitement should subside, hostility would cease.

Thus thinking, he with unaltered equanimity continued his social intercourse with persons of all opinions; the chiefs of different parties met at his house with perfect good humor; and the frank and polite attentions of Mrs. MADISON were paid, without distinction, to all who joined her social circle.

Her snuff-box had a magic influence, and seemed as perfect a security from hostility, as a participation of bread and salt is among many savage tribes. For who could partake of its contents, offered in a manner so gracious, and retain a feeling inimical to its owner? Any one, a stranger to the persons of the great leaders of opposition, and to the violent partisans, who on the arena of public contention were almost at daggers drawn, would not have recognised them in the smiling and courteous personages who stood round the mistress of the mansion.

The kindly feelings thus cultivated, triumphed over the animosity of party spirit, and won a popularity for her husband, which his lofty reserve and cold manners would have failed in effecting.

The moment of decision arrived, and Mr. Madison was declared president of the United States.

In Washington, the day of his inauguration was a day of jubilee. Gladness and kindness seemed the universal feeling. Every face beamed with smiles of gratulation, and every hand was stretched out in cordial greeting. A residence of eight years in the city, by making Mr. and Mrs. MADISON well known, had obtained for them a regard, warm and sincere. To sentiments of personal regard, was added the full assurance of a continuance of the same paternal interest and watchful care for the welfare and advancement of the city, which had been uniformly exhibited by the late administration.

After Mr. Jefferson left the city, Mr. Madison removed to the president's house, which soon became the centre of a gay and brilliant circle, and yet of social and delightful society. In addition to large dinners every week, a drawing-room was now opened, where the beauty and fashion of the nation found the best theatre for display. Those who remembered the stiff formality and strict ceremonials of Mrs. Washington's drawing-room, anticipated a renewal of the same dull scene. But Mrs. MADISON was a foe to dulness in every form, even when invested with the dignity which high ceremonial could bestow. All unnecessary etiquette was banished, and no requisitions made beyond those which regulated good society in private houses.

The sunshine of prosperity shed its most unclouded rays on this favorite of nature and of fortune. But prosperity could not spoil her,

could not harden a heart susceptible of all the tenderest charities of life.

But this scene of general and individual prosperity was interrupted by the war, which spread desolation along our coasts, and brought ruin and devastation to the city of Washington.

This is not the place to discuss the causes of that fatal event. News arrived that the British forces had landed forty miles below the city. Their destination was unknown. Several roads led across the country to the city, and several to Baltimore; and when it was ascertained that Washington was their object, the commanders of our army —for unfortunately the command was divided, at least authority over General Winder was claimed by the secretary of war—could not agree on the route to be chosen, nor the measures to be adopted to oppose the British forces who were advancing in the country. In this dilemma, the president was appealed to, and with a view of settling this difference, went, accompanied by several members of the cabinet and some personal friends, to Bladensburg, where they unexpectedly found the two armies engaged. Meanwhile terror spread over the city. Every one who could find a conveyance of any kind whatever, made their escape to the adjoining towns. Those who were unprovided with a conveyance, fled on foot, carrying with them whatever could be so carried. The sound of the cannon was distinctly heard. The dismay was universal. Mr. Madison, who had gone forth only to hold a council of war, returned not; no one in the city pretended to any authority; the whole was a scene of confusion. Some personal friends who had remained with Mrs. Madison, most vehemently urged her to leave the city. They had her carriage brought to the door, but could not persuade her to enter it until her husband should return and accompany her. But an extract from a letter written to her sister, though necessarily broken and abbreviated, will give a truer, if not a fuller view of her trying situation, than any other pen can do.

"*Tuesday, August* 23, 1814.

"Dear Sister.—My husband left me yesterday morning to join General Winder.—He inquired anxiously whether I had courage, or firmness, to remain in the president's house until his return, on the morrow, or succeeding day, and on my assurance that I had no fear but for him and the success of our army, he left me, beseeching me to take care of myself, and of the cabinet papers, public and private.—I have since received two despatches from him, written with a pencil; the last is alarming, because he desires I should be ready at a moment's warning to enter my carriage and leave the city; that the enemy seemed stronger than had been reported, and that it might happen that they would reach the city, with intention to destroy it. * * * * * * I am accordingly ready; I have pressed as many cabinet papers into trunks as to fill one carriage; our private property

must be sacrificed, as it is impossible to procure waggons for its transportation. I am determined not to go myself until I see Mr. Madison safe, and he can accompany me,—as I hear of much hostility towards him, * * * disaffection stalks around us. * * * * * My friends and acquaintances are all gone,—even Col. C——, with his hundred men, who were stationed as a guard in this enclosure. * * French John (a faithful domestic), with his usual activity and resolution, offers to spike the cannon at the gate, and to lay a train of powder which would blow up the British, should they enter the house. To the last proposition I positively object, without being able, however, to make him understand why all advantages in war may not be taken.

"*Wednesday morning, twelve o'clock.*—Since sunrise I have been turning my spyglass in every direction and watching with unwearied anxiety, hoping to discern the approach of my dear husband and his friends; but, alas, I can descry only groups of military wandering in all directions, as if there was a lack of arms, or of spirit to fight for their own firesides!

"*Three o'clock.*—Will you believe it, my sister? We have had a battle or skirmish near Bladensburg, and I am still here within sound of the cannon! Mr. Madison comes not; may God protect him! Two messengers covered with dust, come to bid me fly; but I wait for him. * * * At this late hour, a waggon has been procured; I have had it filled with the plate and most valuable portable articles belonging to the house; whether it will reach its destination, the Bank of Maryland, or fall into the hands of British soldiery, events must determine.

"Our kind friend, Mr. Carroll, has come to hasten my departure, and is in a very bad humor with me because I insist on waiting until the large picture of General Washington is secured, and it requires to be unscrewed from the wall. This process was found too tedious for these perilous moments; I have ordered the frame to be broken, and the canvass taken out; it is done,— and the precious portrait placed in the hands of two gentlemen of New York, for safe keeping. And now, dear sister, I must leave this house, or the retreating army will make me a prisoner in it, by filling up the road I am directed to take. When I shall again write to you, or where I shall be to-morrow, I cannot tell!!"

The disastrous events which followed, are too well known to need description, even if the limits of this sketch allowed of the melancholy details. During the remainder of Mr. Madison's presidential term, he resided in a private house; where, however, he received company with undiminished hospitality. When at the expiration of his official service he left the city of Washington, and returned to his mountain home, his departure was lamented as a private as well as public loss by the citizens, with whom his family for sixteen years had lived on terms of reciprocal kindness.

Always fond of agricultural pursuits, Mr. Madison joyfully returned to his beautiful and peaceful home. Montpelier was within less than a day's ride of Monticello, and in the estimate of a Virginian, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison were neighbors. Both had run the whole career of public life—had endured its toils and its troubles, had been crowned with its highest honors, and were now reunited in the dignity and tranquillity of domestic retirement, surrounded with the objects of their dearest affections, and every resource which virtue, learning, and philosophy could furnish; and to crown all, a friendship which the

conflicts of public life had never interrupted, which absence had never chilled, and which death only could terminate.

Embosomed among the hills which lay at the foot of the south mountain, is the paternal estate of Mr. Madison. Naturally fertile, but much improved by his judicious care, a comparatively small part is kept under cultivation, the greater part being covered with its native forests. A large and commodious mansion, designed more for comfort and hospitality than ornament and display, rises at the foot of a high wooded hill, which, while it affords shelter from the north-west winds, adds much to the picturesque beauty of the scene. The grounds around the house owe their ornaments more to nature than art, as, with the exception of a fine garden behind, and a wide spread lawn before the house, for miles around the ever varying and undulating surface of the ground is covered with forest trees. The extreme salubrity of the situation induced the proprietor to call it Montpelier.

One wing of the house, during her lifetime, was exclusively appropriated to the venerable and venerated mother of Mr. Madison, to which was attached offices and gardens, forming a separate establishment, where this aged matron preserved the habits and the hours of her early life, attended by old family slaves, and surrounded by her children and grandchildren.

Under the same roof, divided only by a partition wall, was thus exhibited the customs of the beginning and end of a century; thus offering a strange but most interesting exhibition of the differences between the olden and the present age. By only opening a door, the observer passed from the elegancies, refinements, and gayeties of modern life, into all that was venerable, respectable, and dignified in gone-by days. From the airy apartments—windows opening to the ground, hung with light silken drapery, French furniture, light fancy chairs, gay carpets, &c., &c.,—to the solid and heavy carved and polished mahogany furniture darkened by age, the thick rich curtains, and other more comfortable adjustments of our great-grandfathers' times. It was considered a great favor and distinction by the gay visiters who thronged Mr. Madison's hospitable mansion, to be admitted to pay the homage of their respects to his reverend mother. The last time the writer of this article enjoyed that privilege, she was then in her ninety-seventh year. She still retained all her faculties, though not free from the bodily infirmities of age. She was sitting, or rather reclining on a couch; beside her was a small table filled with large, dark, and worn quartos and folios, of most venerable appearance. She closed one as we entered, and took up her knitting which lay

beside her. Among other inquiries, I asked her how she passed her time. "I am never at a loss," she replied; "this and these," touching her knitting and her books, "keep me always busy; look at my fingers and you will perceive I have not been idle." In truth, her delicate fingers were polished by her knitting-needles. "And my eyes, thanks be to God, have not failed me yet, and I read most part of the day. But in other respects I am feeble and helpless, and owe every thing to *her*," pointing to Mrs. MADISON who sat by us. "She is *my* mother *now*, and tenderly cares for all my wants." My eyes were filled with tears, as I looked from the one to the other of these excellent women, and thought of the tender ties by which they were united. Never, in the midst of a splendid drawing-room, surrounded by all that was courtly and brilliant—all that was admired and respected—the centre of attraction—the object of admiration,—never was Mrs. MADISON so interesting, so lovely, so estimable, as in her attendance on this venerable woman, the acknowledged object of her grateful affection.

Much as she graced her public station, she has been not less admirable in domestic life. Neighborly and companionable among her country friends, as if she had never lived in a city; delighting in the society of the young, and never better pleased than when promoting every youthful pleasure by her participation; she still proved herself the affectionate and devoted wife during the years of suffering health of her excellent husband. Without neglecting the duties of a kind hostess, a faithful friend and relative, she smoothed and enlivened, occupied and amused, the languid hours of his long confinement: he knew, appreciated, and acknowledged the blessing which heaven had bestowed on him, in giving him such a wife M. H. S.

JAMES MONROE.

THE history of republics furnishes us with but few instances of men, however distinguished for talents, continuing from youth to old age as successful politicians. Pericles, who governed Athens in the days of her glory for nearly forty years, is an exception which only proves the rule; for he stands alone in the annals of Greece. Others, of equal fame, have felt the chances and changes of a free government. Miltiades, who had saved his country by his consummate military prowess, in fighting the battle of Marathon, experienced the ingratitude of a republic, and died in prison. Æschylus, the father of tragic writers, and the great improver of the scenic art, after having distinguished himself as a warrior at Marathon, Platæa, and Salamis, was charged with impiety in his writings, because he was too sublime for the comprehension of the mass of the people, and was sentenced to death by those whom he had instructed and defended. He was pardoned by means of a brother's eloquence, but retired in disgust from an ungrateful people. Aristides the Just was exiled by the ostracism for many years, through the machinations of his political opponents: the perpetual agitations of a republic carry one up on the flood who is often in turn swept down as the tide recedes. This has too often been the case in this great republic of ours: we have seen statesmen give way to mere politicians, and patriots to demagogues; but to the honor of "the ancient dominion" it must be acknowledged, that she has been less subject to change and caprice, than any of her sister states. She has in most instances been true to her men of talents, and found her reward in the influence they have acquired in the councils of the nation, and sustained in every change of policy. Among her sons whom she has delighted to honor, and who have reaped the reward of her constancy, is JAMES MONROE. For more than half a century, he was daily before the public, and in that period has filled more important offices than any other man in the United States.

JAMES MONROE was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, on the

28th of April, 1758. His ancestors came to this country among the early settlers, and he was born on the *paternal acres* first meted out to them. He was educated at William and Mary college, and was graduated in 1776. On leaving college, he took the law for a profession; but before he had read Coke upon Lyttleton, the military spirit, then firing the breasts of all our distinguished young men, created a fever in his veins, and he entered as a cadet in a corps then organizing under the gallant General Mercer, of Virginia. He was soon after appointed a lieutenant, and joined the army at New York. The campaign of 1776 was disastrous in the extreme. In four months after the declaration of independence, the Americans had been beaten in seven battles, and dismay and despair hung around them. Lieutenant MONROE took a part in the engagements at Harlaem heights, and at White Plains, and was with the army in their distressing retreat through the Jerseys. He was with Washington when the general crossed the Delaware, and made the successful attack on the Hessians at Trenton, on the morning of the 26th of December, 1776, which masterly movement saved the country. It was one of doubtful issue; and Washington had prepared to return to the interior of Pennsylvania, if unsuccessful. This blow was unexpected to the British; until this moment they considered the country as virtually conquered, and their fighting at an end. The victory of Trenton was followed by that of Princeton, and the hopes of the nation began to revive, although thousands of the Americans were then in prison-ships and dungeons, treated with the greatest cruelty, to intimidate them to subjection;—but from their ashes was lighted up the unquenchable fire of indignation and revenge. In the battle of Trenton, Lieutenant MONROE was wounded in the shoulder, fighting gallantly in the van of the army. He was at once promoted to a captaincy. On recovering from his wounds, he was invited to act as aid to Lord Sterling, and served with him two campaigns, in which he saw much service, having been in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. Not thinking the staff the proper place for promotion for one who sought glory in arms, he was desirous of obtaining the command of a regiment; for this purpose he repaired to his native state, with strong recommendations from the commander-in-chief, and applied to the legislature for leave to raise a regiment of which he was to have the command. From the exhausted state of Virginia, he failed of raising his corps, and did not return to the army, but entered the office of Mr. Jefferson, as a student at law. With Mr. Jefferson, Major MONROE found an extensive

library, and in him had a sage adviser. International law was then closely studied; for the young and the old made themselves masters of this subject, as well as the rights of men in every civil community, that in every situation they might be able to vindicate the cause they were pursuing. At this time there was no practice at the bar; and of course his time was not frittered away by painful attention to the drudgery of smaller business, so common in offices at the present day.

In 1780, Mr. Jefferson, being governor of Virginia, sent Mr. Monroe as a commissioner to the southern army, under De Kalb, to ascertain its effective force, its wants, and ulterior prospects.

In 1782, Mr. Monroe was elected a member of the legislature of Virginia, and the next year, after serving in the executive council, was sent to the continental congress, when only twenty-four years old. In this body he proved himself a business man; and for three years labored indefatigably in the arduous duties of this station. While in congress, he saw that the independence of the country was barely achieved, not secured, if the loose way they had of raising a revenue was still continued, for it was quite optional with each state, to what degree and when they would collect their proportions of the means necessary to support the government; and he introduced resolutions to invest congress with the power to regulate trade with all the states, which was probably the germ of our present constitution.

After leaving congress, he was again in the legislature of his native state, taking a very active part in the deliberations of that body, which was engaged in a revision of their laws, which required, like those of other commonwealths, a conformity to the state of the times. His good sense was brought to bear on these subjects, as was evinced by the share he took in the work of enlarging and revising the statute-book. He was in 1788 a member of the convention to decide on the adoption of the constitution of the United States, at that time offered for the consideration of the people. In this convention, Mr. Monroe differed from his colleagues and friends, James Madison, John Marshall, and others, through most of the preliminary steps, and in the final question, was found in the minority in his vote against that instrument he was so many years called to see carried into execution.

From 1790 to 1794, he was a member of the senate of the United States, and was taken from that body to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from this country to France. In this office, he was not popular with those in power; they thought him too enthusiastically engaged in the feelings of revolutionary France, to do

justice to his own country, and Washington recalled him in 1796. Mr. MONROE, on his return to his native country, published a justification of his conduct while abroad; but the pamphlet settled nothing, but justified both parties in the views which they had taken. The general having no more duties for him to perform, at this time, he was elected governor of Virginia, and served the constitutional term of three years, a proof that his native state was with him in sentiment. Mr. Jefferson, after Mr. Adams had retired from office, came into power. He had been a constant friend to Colonel MONROE, and appointed him, in 1803, envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to France, to act with Mr. Livingston, the minister resident there. Mr. Livingston had commenced the negotiation for the purchase of Louisiana, and had made no small progress in the business, when his coadjutor arrived in France, with full power to join in the important negotiation. The honor of effecting this admirable treaty is claimed by the friends of each, but the following letter from Mr. Livingston will throw much light on the subject, and proves that it was a joint labor.

Paris, 10th *April*, 1803.

DEAR SIR,

I congratulate you on your safe arrival. We have long and anxiously wished for you. God grant that your mission may answer yours, and the public expectation. War may do something for us; nothing else would. I have paved the way for you; and if you could add to my memoirs an assurance that we were now in possession of New Orleans, we should do well; but I detain Mr. Bentalon, who is impatient to fly to the arms of his wife. I have apprized the minister of your arrival, and told him you would be here on Tuesday or Wednesday. Present my compliments and Mrs. Livingston's to Mrs. Monroe, and believe me, dear sir,

Your friend, and humble servant,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

To his Excellency JAMES MONROE.

The difficulties which Mr. Livingston found in his way, were removed, and the treaty of cession soon after signed. This, by whom originated or by what influence carried into effect, will forever stand in our state papers as one of the most fortunate pieces of diplomacy, among the many we owe our sagacious ministers. It saved much ill-will and bloodshed, and was an excellent bargain as a monied speculation. It was, indeed, fortunate for the United States, and vastly

more so to Louisiana than for the purchasers. "The house of representatives of that state expressed, after an experience of more than twenty years, by an unanimous resolution, its veneration for Mr. MONROE, and its gratitude for the part he had taken in the proceedings that united Louisiana to the American confederacy."

After seeing that the great business of the treaty ceding Louisiana to the United States was accomplished, Mr. MONROE went to London as a successor to Mr. King, who had requested to be recalled. From England Mr. MONROE was ordered to Spain, which country he visited by the way of France: the direct road to Spain for a diplomatist, at that time, was through Paris. From Spain Mr. MONROE returned to England, after the death of Mr. Pitt, to negotiate with Mr. Fox, his successor. Some portion of our countrymen conceived it a good opportunity for an adjustment of our difficulties with England; but Mr. Fox died too soon after his predecessor, to give our diplomatist an opportunity to try the temper and disposition of the radical minister of England towards this country. In all probability we should not have gained much from Mr. Fox; for of all ministers we have had to deal with, who have acted as premiers for ages, Mr. Canning, supposed to be the most liberal, was the most bitter and unjust towards this republic. Previous to the death of Mr. Pitt, the American envoys, Messrs. MONROE and Pinckney, in connection with Lords Holland and Auckland, had made a treaty between the two countries, which Mr. Jefferson would not present to the senate of the United States for their consideration and advice, as it contained many objectionable articles.

The attack upon the frigate Chesapeake placed the two governments, already irritated, in a hostile attitude, quite inconsistent with the residence of an American minister at St. James's, and Mr. MONROE returned to this country. For a year or two, Mr. MONROE spent his time in literary leisure, or at least free from political pursuits, on his plantation in Virginia; but in the year 1810 he again resumed the duties of a politician, being elected to the legislature of Virginia. But he was elected governor of the commonwealth in a few months, and continued to discharge the duties of his office, until he was appointed secretary of state under Mr. Madison. Mr. MONROE was in this office when the war against Great Britain was declared, in 1812. He was in the discharge of his duties, when the secretary of war found it necessary to repair to the frontiers, to correct the errors supposed to exist in the army. Mr. MONROE took the war department under his special care, and remained in it until all things went on smoothly. He took a deep interest in the conflict, and was the most efficient and

active man in the cause. The president found Mr. MONROE his armor-bearer in the contest, whether he was in the office of secretary of state or war. He had decidedly the most business talent of the cabinet.

In 1817, when all was calm again, he was elected president of the United States by a large majority. During the first term of his administration, the country was so busy in repairing their losses, that almost every thing like party was forgotten; and on his second election, in 1821, he had the votes of all the electoral colleges, except one, which was given in New Hampshire, for John Q. Adams. He made, on his first coming into office, a very judicious selection of cabinet ministers, and lived with them in great harmony. He gave new energy to the army and navy, and found something for our ships of war to do, in protecting our commerce in distant seas. The able and bold secretary of war, John C. Calhoun, commenced, under the sanction of the president, the building a line of fortifications on our seaboard, which was wanted for our defence.

In the administration of Mr. MONROE, the Floridas were ceded to the United States by Spain, as an indemnity for spoliations on American commerce. This was a good bargain for both parties. Spain was exhausted in her finances, and Florida was only a bill of expense to her. The Spanish nation had not aught to say against the transfer, for the lands belonging to individuals in the Floridas became greatly enhanced in value, by coming within the jurisdiction of the United States. After his second election as president, Mr. MONROE made a journey through the northern and eastern states, and was cordially received in every part of the country, all parties joining to receive him as the head of our nation. Nearly all the objects of charity he saw, were some of his old companions in arms; they had never recovered from the shock which the revolution had given them, both as to fortune and habits. Among the many who went to pay their respects to him, was an old man broken in health and fortune by the vicissitudes of life, who was once a gallant officer, in whom were united the scholar, the merchant, seaman, and skilful engineer. He had commanded a regiment and seen much service. He had been wealthy as a merchant, but entered into the tobacco trade soon after the peace, and became a bankrupt, and was at the time of his visit to the president mostly supported by the liberality of a marine society, of which he had been a founder and most munificent benefactor. He conversed with Colonel MONROE, with whom he had been intimate, with the freedom of an old friend and without a murmur at fortune. The

president saw, by the scantiness of his wardrobe, the poverty which had overtaken him; and on his retiring, spoke with great warmth of the neglect of the country, towards those who had spent their substance and shed their blood for our independence; for he knew that Colonel W——— had lavished large sums in clothing and arming his regiment. If Mr. MONROE had the pension law in view previous to this period, this interview with his old friend quickened his zeal, and secured something to sustain the last days of the heroes of the revolution. Before provision was made for their support, many of them had gone where honors or pensions cannot reach; but still many remain, to be gladdened by the rills of public justice, which were caused to flow among those "in the sere and yellow leaf of life." As the president journeyed through New Hampshire, he made Hanover, on Connecticut river, a resting-place for the night. While in that place, he visited Mrs. Wheelock, relict of President Wheelock of Dartmouth college, and in this lady found the once sprightly maiden, who had prepared with her own fair hands the bandage for the surgeon, who had dressed in her father's house the wounded Lieutenant MONROE, on the morning of the battle of Trenton. The grave statesman and year-stricken dame gazed on each other for a moment, reflecting upon the changes time had made on them; but instantly turned their thoughts from this subject, and commenced a conversation upon the incidents of the memorable day when their acquaintance began. The incidents of the battle, and those which followed the capture of the Hessians, were all fresh in the minds of both, and they seemed to grow younger from the glow which these recollections excited.

The South American states which had long been struggling with Spanish and Portuguese despotism, had now in dreadful convulsions burst asunder the chains which had bound them for ages, and in the agony of revolutionary conflict, stretched out their hands to the liberal nations of the earth for countenance and succor. In the very "lurid morn" of their national existence, before they had assumed any permanent shape, the government of the United States, that had hailed their struggle with joy, and carefully examined their cause, acknowledged their independence openly and boldly in the face of the world; and when it was apprehended, that the great powers of Europe were about to interfere with the internal concerns of the new states of South America, President MONROE, in a message to congress, declared to the world, that the United States could not, in honor to herself, be a quiet spectator of the scene. This declaration was made without a particle

of assumption or arrogance, and proved to have been well-timed and effective; for we heard no more of the interference of the holy alliance in the affairs of the infant republics. This was the first great proof our country had ever had of its weight in the balance of national power.

After Mr. MONROE had retired from office, he was engaged with his distinguished predecessors in the presidential chair, Messrs. Jefferson and Madison, in establishing the university of Virginia, and in forming a constitution and rules for its government. This was no easy task; for in avoiding monkish rules and the hoary errors of ancient seats of learning, there was great danger of falling into the other extreme of laxity in discipline, and free thinking in studies. These scholars and philosophers did not believe that they were so wise, but that experience might be a better test than their own judgments, and left room for revision in their code of laws, which has been judiciously used. The university is taking a high rank among the literary and scientific institutions in the United States. The next situation in which we find the ex-president MONROE, is as president of the Virginia convention called to amend the constitution of his native state. This was an arduous task. The rules and orders of a deliberate body have grown up into a science within these last thirty years; and it requires a clear mind to comprehend all their niceties, and some degree of energy strictly to enforce them. Those who attended this convention, speak of his dignity and precision as presiding officer, and bear witness that he was in the full possession of his faculties.

To show the simplicity of our republican form of government, Mr. MONROE acted as a magistrate in the county of Loudon, where he resided, and was as attentive and as assiduous in the discharge of his duties as he had been in the highest office he was ever called to fill.

From Virginia he came to reside in the city of New York, to be with an affectionate daughter who had married in the city, and who was anxious for her father's health. He seldom appeared abroad after his coming to New York; but when he did, he was treated with profound respect by all classes of citizens.

On the 4th of July, 1831, the anniversary of American independence, just five years after his illustrious predecessors, Adams and Jefferson, had quitted the scenes of their labors, he expired as the peals of joy broke upon the light of day, and the city exhibited its crowded population rushing to partake of the national festival. He died well; for he had reached and passed the ordinary boundary of human life, being over seventy-three years old. He had no complaints to make

of his country; for she had listened to his claims of extraordinary expenditure, and paid them without any mortifying scrutiny. The citizens of New York, under the direction of their municipal authorities, gave him a splendid funeral; coffin, hearse and pall would have done honor to Cæsar's obsequies, and the eloquent and learned head of Columbia college pronounced his eulogy.

The half century in which Mr. MONROE was an actor on the great stage of public life, was most eventful in the history of nations. The great fountain of human knowledge had been opened in Europe; and our countrymen had drank deeply of the waters, and their eyes were opened. The fulness of time for some great event had come; although the political seers could not exactly, by their auguries, tell what it would be. The American revolution was not a matter of accident, "but the sound result of sober inquiry and deliberation." The spirit of intelligence had for a long time been working upon the feelings of a high-minded people, and leading them by its holy influences to self-government. Our seminaries of learning were full of liberal views, as in fact most literary and scientific institutions in every age and nation have been; and the professions were so many channels through which it flowed to the people at large.

Mr. MONROE began his public career as a soldier, which was of great service to him in every subsequent stage in his eventful life. Intrepidity and decision are indispensable requisites for a soldier, and these traits become equally necessary in the moral bravery of a statesman. The effects of this military education in early life has been noticed in the characters of some of our most energetic politicians, as every reader may call to mind, in looking over the names of many distinguished men, from Washington down to subalterns of the revolutionary army.

Mr. MONROE had a sound constitution, and a well-balanced mind. He made his calculations with deliberation, and his political movements were generally successful; if not at first, his perseverance eventually secured success. Mr. MONROE will not want for biographers; for he was so intimately connected, from his youth upwards, with the progress of events in our history, that something relating to him must appear in almost every page of our annals.

The imperturbable serenity which he possessed at all times, was an excellent ingredient in the composition of a diplomatist, and was often of service to the executive officer. In making up his mind on any subject, he was never dazzled by the brilliant coloring of his own

imagination, nor led astray by any tormenting passion. His political ambition was constantly gratified, and he had no avarice to lead him from the plain path of duty. Some may be greater, many as great; but ages may pass before one more fortunate will be found in the presidential chair of our republic.

S. L. K.

JOHN DICKINSON.

To the successful prosecution of the war of independence, the power of the pen was almost as essential as that of the sword. To arouse and sustain a spirit of resistance; to give to the proclamations, addresses, and resolutions of congress a tone becoming the dignity of that body, and the destiny of the country, and to command the respect, and secure the support of the enlightened in Europe, required genius and cultivation of the highest order, and the most commanding influence. In this department of the patriotic contest, none surpassed the subject of this memoir.

JOHN DICKINSON was born in Maryland, on the 2d day of Nov., O. S., in the year 1732. Unlike many of his patriotic comrades, fortune smiled upon his early birth. The greatest advantages of youthful nurture and cultivation, formed a character admirably adapted to supply the deficiencies of many of his associates, whose loftiness of sentiment, and purity of patriotism, he was thus prepared efficiently to sustain. He was the eldest son by a second marriage of Samuel Dickinson, Esq., who, some years after his birth, removed to his estate near Dover, in Delaware, and filled the office of first judge of the court of common pleas. His mother, whose name was Mary Cadwalader, was a descendant from one of the earliest settlers of Pennsylvania. His father had sent his two eldest sons to England to be educated, but the deep affliction produced by their death in that kingdom, probably deterred him from continuing the practice, and accordingly JOHN imbibed the rudiments of knowledge in his native land. A domestic calamity may thus have been the cause of a course of education being abandoned, which might have implanted foreign doctrines in the mind, and dried up the fountain of patriotism from the breast, of the author of the Farmer's Letters, and of the Petition of Congress to the King. Happily the American plant was not spoiled by being transplanted at too tender an age; and in its own native soil was permitted to acquire a matured growth and a firm structure. The late Chancellor Kilen, of Delaware, then a young man, was the tutor of JOHN, but how long he continued under his charge, and in what

manner he completed his education, we have not been able to learn. The subsequent elevation of the preceptor, and the known proficiency of the pupil, in all the branches of knowledge essential to an accomplished scholar, are conclusive evidence of their qualifications and assiduity.

After having studied law under John Moland, Esq., of Philadelphia, he went to England, where he remained for three years at the Temple in London. On his return he established himself in the practice of the law in Philadelphia, where his abilities and acquirements procured for him eminent success.

His first appearance in public life was in the year 1764, as a member of the assembly of Pennsylvania. A controversy which existed between that assembly and the proprietors, founded on a claim by the latter to have their estates exempted from taxation, occasioned the first display of his abilities and eloquence as a statesman. A proposition having been made to petition the king for a change of the government of the province, Mr. DICKINSON, on the 24th of May, delivered an elaborate speech in opposition to it. Believing the measure to be fraught with rashness and danger, that the remedy bore no proportion to the existing evil, and that it was calculated to involve the province in a disastrous conflict with a superior power, he exerted himself to prevent its adoption. The aggressions of the British parliament, which finally involved the country in war, did not commence until the 24th of March of that year; but in this preliminary controversy, we can observe the cautious policy for which Mr. DICKINSON'S conduct was distinguished throughout his public career.

On the 11th of September, 1765, he was appointed a delegate to a general congress, which assembled at New York in October, and was the author of the resolutions of that body, promulgating their hostility to the measures of Great Britain, and the principles which they considered as inherent in their system of government, and to which they ever after strenuously adhered. During this year he commenced his compositions against the aggressions of England, which were continued with vigor and striking effect, until the close of the conflict.

The first production of his pen appears to have been a pamphlet published that year, entitled, "The Late Regulations respecting the British Colonies on the continent of America, considered in a Letter from a Gentleman in Philadelphia to his Friend in London," in which, with great spirit and elegance of style, as well as force of argument, he exhibited the impolicy of the ministerial measures, both as they related to a profitable intercourse between the mother country and her

colonies, and in reference to the discontents which would inevitably be produced by her illegal and oppressive exactions.

The committee of correspondence of the legislature of Barbadoes, in a letter to their agent in London, remonstrating against the English system of taxation, took occasion to compare their loyal submission "with the rebellious opposition given to authority by their fellow subjects in the northern colonies." Mr. DICKINSON took fire at the ignominious epithet so contumeliously cast upon his countrymen, and, in an admirable letter addressed to the Barbadoes committee, printed with the signature of a North American, in 1766, repelled the accusation, and, with his usual force and animation, vindicated the conduct of his fellow citizens.

But the work which most extensively spread his reputation, was the celebrated Farmer's Letters to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies, which were published in 1767, and consisted of twelve letters. Few productions have ever been attended with more signal effect, or procured for their author more extensive fame. His object in writing them was to arouse the attention of his country to the illegality of British taxation, and to the necessity of adopting rigorous measures to induce the mother country to retrace her steps of oppression. Distinguished for purity of diction and elegance of composition, they richly merit the applause which has been bestowed upon them. In a style of great vigor, animation, and simplicity, he portrayed the unconstitutionality of the conduct of Great Britain, the imminent peril to American liberty which existed, and the fatal consequences of a supine acquiescence in ministerial measures, more fatal as precedents than by the immediate calamities they were calculated to produce. The Farmer's Letters were read with intense interest, and produced the effect not merely of enlightening the public mind, but of exciting the feelings of the people to a determination not to submit to the oppressive exactions of the mother country.

Avoiding all violence of expression and of doctrine, and repelling the idea of forcible opposition, they breathe a spirit of firm independence, an ardent love of liberty, and an unconquerable resolution to yield to any sacrifice rather than tamely submit to despotism. Mr. DICKINSON was reluctant to encourage acts of hostility to the mother country, and accordingly we find that peaceful opposition was all that he then contemplated. Although he subsequently united ardently in the military operations of the colonies, yet the principles which he inculcated in the Farmer's Letters, of moderation in all the measures of opposition, seem to have followed him throughout the contest, and

to have occasioned that opposition to the declaration of independence, which it will be proper hereafter more fully to describe. The idea of separation from the mother country was to him revolting, and he therefore urged his countrymen to a peaceful but firm resistance to the ambitious schemes of enlarging the power of Great Britain. He enlightened the public mind, aroused the feelings, and was finally carried forward by the current which he had so powerfully contributed to set in motion. An allusion to his principles seems necessary, fully to comprehend his character and the motives by which he was influenced. At all times active and energetic in his opposition to the measures of Great Britain, he did not unite in sentiment with the majority of his patriotic associates, in those daring measures which gave so decided a cast to the revolution. In enlightening the people, and in exciting their feelings, he was a prominent leader. It was only the boldest measures that he struggled to retard, but when once adopted, no man was more fearless or animated in urging them to a successful termination.

The author of the Farmer's Letters received the most flattering commendations. At a meeting of the inhabitants of Boston, at Faneuil hall, it was resolved that the thanks of the town should be given to him, and Dr. Church, John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Dr. Joseph Warren, the hero of Bunker Hill, and John Roe, were appointed a committee to prepare and publish a letter of thanks. A highly complimentary letter was accordingly published, in which, after paying a tribute of respect to the author, they say that, "to such eminent worth and virtue, the inhabitants of the town of Boston, the capital of the province of Massachusetts Bay, in full town meeting assembled, express their gratitude. Though such superior merit must assuredly, in the closest recess, enjoy the divine satisfaction of having served, and possibly saved this people; though veiled from our view, you modestly shun the deserved applause of millions; permit us to intrude upon your retirement, and salute the Farmer as the friend of Americans, and the common benefactor of mankind." The answer of the Farmer was published in the Boston Gazette. An edition of the Letters was published in 1769, in Virginia, with a preface written by Richard Henry Lee, and in May, 1768, Dr. Franklin caused them to be republished in London, with a preface from his own elegant pen, urging them upon the attention of the public. In 1769, they were translated into French and published at Paris.

Mr. DICKINSON was, in 1774, a member of a committee from the several counties of Pennsylvania, convened for the purpose of giving

instructions to the assembly, by whom delegates to congress were to be chosen. He prepared a series of resolutions and a letter of instruction, which, amidst the numerous acts of a similar description in the several colonies, attracted peculiar attention, by their precise and determinate manner, as well as by the merit of being the most formal and complete exposition of the rights of the colonies, and of their grievances, which had then been published. After having been reported by the committee without objection, they were so far modified as to separate the argumentative part from the rest, but the whole were ordered to be published,—the former as an "Essay on the Constitutional Power of Great Britain over the Colonies in America." The committee unanimously agreed "that their thanks should be given from the chair to JOHN DICKINSON, for the great assistance they have received from the laudable application of his eminent abilities to the service of his country in the above performance." In his reply to this tribute of respect, which was communicated to him formally from the chair, he very modestly observed,—"The mere accident of meeting with particular books, and conversing with particular men, led me into the train of sentiments, which the committee are pleased to think just; and others with the like opportunities of information would much better have deserved to receive the thanks they now generously give."

Mr. DICKINSON took his seat in congress as a deputy from Pennsylvania, on the 17th of October, 1774, and immediately became engaged in the composition of the addresses of that body, which shed so much lustre on its proceedings, and now constitute no small portion of its fame. A dignified and elegant appeal to the inhabitants of Quebec, designed to enlist them in the common cause of the defence of their rights, emanated from his pen. But it was the petition to the king which won the highest admiration, on both sides of the Atlantic, and which will remain an imperishable monument to the glory of its author, and of the assembly of which he was a member, so long as fervid and manly eloquence, and chaste and elegant composition, shall be appreciated. Containing a clear exposition of the grounds of complaint, communicated in a respectful manner, it breathes a spirit of uncompromising freedom, and was calculated to strike deep into the heart, if any thing short of adulation could reach it, of him to whom it was addressed. However vain may have been the idea of awakening the king to a sense of the wrongs which, under his immaculate authority were committed, the eloquent composition of DICKINSON reached other hearts, and rallied to the support of the sacred cause in

which he had so earnestly embarked, a host of advocates whose applause and benedictions cheered the votaries of freedom in the gloomiest hours of their tribulations. He was not originally a member of the committee appointed to perform the delicate and important duty of framing an address from an assembly, which professed to be composed of loyal subjects, to their distant monarch, but it consisted of Mr. Henry, Mr. Lee, J. Adams, Johnson, and Rutledge. It was appointed on the first of October, and Mr. DICKINSON's enemies having succeeded in retarding his election to congress, he did not take his seat until the 17th. Mr. Henry actually prepared and reported an address which, not according with the views of congress, was recommitted, and Mr. DICKINSON was on the 21st added to the committee, and on the 24th reported the petition which was adopted. In patriotism Patrick Henry and JOHN DICKINSON resembled each other, but in many respects they bore the most decided contrast. Mr. Henry was an orator of incomparable powers; impetuous, undisciplined, and ready not only to support the boldest measures, but eager to rush onward in the revolutionary career, looking to nothing short of independence, and affecting no respect for a monarch whose authority he could not brook. Mr. DICKINSON, equally devoted to his country, looked with habitual respect upon the mother country and her king, and until the irrevocable step was taken by the declaration of independence, considered the restoration of harmony between the two countries, based upon the security of the rights of the colonies, as the consummation of sound policy and enlightened patriotism. With extensive stores of learning, and a highly polished intellect, were associated that caution, and perhaps hesitancy, which induced him to avoid rashness as one of the greatest errors that could be committed, and to deprecate the breaking of the ranks of peaceful opposition, by the chivalrous spirits, who, perhaps, stirred up by his own eloquent compositions, sounded in his ears the war-notes of revolution, as the only remedy for the grievances which he had so inimitably portrayed. Mr. Henry's draught, besides being defective in point of composition, was filled with asperities which did not comport with th conciliatory disposition of congress.

As there was no deficiency of men prepared and anxious to press the revolutionary car on to its goal, it was fortunate for the country that congress possessed one man of the peculiar constitution of JOHN DICKINSON; for through his instrumentality, whilst they were rushing with a patriotic impetuousness into the midst of a sanguinary revolution, and their country was rapidly bursting its fetters and

rising into national existence; their cause was invested with a dignity, moderation, and firmness; their motives were exhibited in a condition of purity; and the holy principles of civil liberty, which they were struggling to sustain, were promulgated to the world with a force and clearness, which commanded the respect of the civilized world, and have commended the conflict to the nations of the earth as an example which has been gazed at with admiration, and on several occasions followed with ardor.

With the view of making another effort to arrest the progress of oppression, Mr. DICKINSON urged the propriety of presenting a second petition to the king; but it was warmly opposed in congress as altogether futile; the determination to persist in error being as manifest as the discontent it had produced. The confidence he had inspired, and his deservedly great influence, enabled him, however, to accomplish his object; and the second petition to the king, written by him, ranks with its predecessor in usefulness to the cause, as well as in the peculiar merits of the composition. The highest encomiums were bestowed upon them, and it is believed that they powerfully contributed to draw upon congress the celebrated panegyric of Lord Chatham, in which, after alluding to the writings of antiquity, and the patriotism of Greece and Rome, he gave to that body a preference over the assemblies of the master states of the world. The literature of the revolution is a proud field for an American to contemplate. Filled with noble sentiments, lofty patriotism, untainted virtue, and a wisdom which seems to combine all that is essential for the protection of human freedom, there is a rich vein of eloquence irrigating the teeming soil, which the proudest and most cultivated nations of the earth might exult to call their own.

One of the most eloquent and soul-stirring productions of Mr. DICKINSON'S pen, was the declaration of congress of July 6th, 1775, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms, which was proclaimed at the head of the several divisions of the army. He appears, when writing this admirable composition, to have been excited to a pitch of enthusiasm, not surpassed by the most chivalrous of the revolutionary patriots; and to have uttered his eloquent invectives against despotism, with a spirit prophetic of the glorious result. "We are reduced," said he, "to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers or resistance by force The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honor, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we

received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them."

Allusion has already been made to the conciliatory views of Mr. DICKINSON, and to his repugnance to a final separation from Great Britain. In producing a measure of the vast importance of the declaration of independence, it was to have been expected that a great difference of opinion respecting its propriety should exist. Accordingly we find that members of congress became converts to the measure at various periods, and that several whose patriotism was unquestionable, and whose opposition to the despotism of Great Britain had been distinguished by brilliant exertions and extensive sacrifices, refused to coöperate in its adoption. JOHN DICKINSON was the most conspicuous of them. Believing that it was at least premature; that the country was not prepared to sustain it; that it would interfere with foreign alliances, since nations hostile to Great Britain would not be likely to advocate the American cause, when their hostility to Great Britain was gratified by the severance of the British empire; and that dissensions might spring up among the colonies, unless some provision was made for the settlement of their controversies before "they lost sight of that tribunal, which had hitherto been the umpire of all their differences," he exerted himself to retard its adoption. But it was in vain. His own eloquent compositions had sunk too deeply into the hearts of the people, and their feelings were aroused to too high a pitch of indignation at the conduct of Great Britain, to falter in their march to national independence. A majority of the Pennsylvania delegation were opposed to the declaration; but on the 4th of July, Mr. DICKINSON and another member, Mr. Morris, thought fit so far to withdraw their opposition, as, by their absence, to leave a majority of one in its favor. The vote of Pennsylvania was thus added to those of her sister states. The signatures of some of the members, who at the time had strenuously opposed it, were subsequently affixed to it, and are transmitted to posterity as contemporaneous participators in that act of daring intrepidity. But Mr. DICKINSON's name has never been associated with it, nor does it appear that he ever recanted the opinion which he had expressed of its propriety, although he not merely acquiesced in it, but engaged with his accustomed zeal and assiduity in preparing and carrying into effect the measures necessary to sustain it. However much we may

regret that his name is not enrolled on that instrument, which is now the pride and the boast of every American, it would not only be uncharitable, but it would be wantonly to dim the lustre of one of the brightest of the revolutionary luminaries, to suspect the purity of his motives, or to diminish the gratitude of the country to him. Party spirit at that period was powerful, and his enemies successfully assailed him. His reëlection to congress was defeated, and the public lost his services for about two years, on the theatre for which he was the best adapted. He soon, however, exhibited convincing evidence that his course with regard to the declaration of independence, did not proceed from a disposition to shield himself from danger, and that his patriotism was too ardent to be cooled by the frowns of his countrymen. He was actually at camp performing military duty, when the loss of his election to congress occurred. We have been able to glean but few particulars of his military services. It appears that he marched with his regiment to Elizabethtown to meet the enemy, and served as a private soldier in Capt. Lewis's company, when on a similar expedition to the Head of Elk. In October, 1777, he received from Mr. McKean, then president of Pennsylvania, a commission of brigadier-general; the duties of which he fulfilled in a satisfactory manner.

In April, 1779, he was unanimously elected to congress, and resumed the performance of his legislative duties with his accustomed ardor and effect. In the month of May, he wrote the address of that body to the states, upon the situation of public affairs; a production distinguished by his usual felicity of composition and warmth of patriotic feeling. The condition of the country is vividly described, and the states are urged to exertion to rescue it from the abject situation to which a depreciated paper currency, a prodigality in the expenditure of the public money, and the exhaustion of war, had reduced it.

In 1780, he was elected to represent the county of Newcastle in the assembly of Delaware; and was in the same year, unanimously elected president of that state, by the two branches of the legislature. In 1782, he was elected president of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, which office he continued to fill until October, 1785.

It is natural to suppose that a man who was so deeply indebted to literature as Mr. DICKINSON, and whose life had been so sedulously devoted to the application of its inestimable riches to the service of his country, would not, amidst his numerous benefactions, overlook education, the main spring of republican greatness and stability. The act

of assembly incorporating a college to be established in the borough of Carlisle, has happily perpetuated the remembrance of his munificent patronage of learning, as well as the public sense of his exalted merit. It declares that—"In memory of the great and important services rendered to his country by his excellency JOHN DICKINSON, Esq., president of the supreme executive council, and in commemoration of his very liberal donation to the institution, the said college shall be forever hereafter called and known by the name of *Dickinson College*." The institution which was thus brought into existence under the auspices and by the liberality of this great man, is destined, it is hoped, to be a perpetual monument to his fame, and a perennial fountain of unadulterated knowledge and patriotism. Fortunately located near the centre of a powerful state, surrounded by ample resources for its sustenance, and accessible to all the means which give facility to education, its prosperous career is a fit subject for patriotic aspirations. Clouds, it is true, have occasionally darkened its prospects; but in the midst of its adversities, its fame, the advantages of its position, and the exertions of the friends of education, have twice raised it from a prostrate condition, and it bids fair to fulfil the benevolent and patriotic anticipations of its founder. In the selection of the locality of the institution, Mr. DICKINSON appears, as in all of his other public services, to have been actuated by disinterested motives, and to have looked beyond the present time to advance the permanent good of the community. Philadelphia had been, and Wilmington was destined to be, the place of his residence. Carlisle was out of the sphere of his movements and of his influence, but being the centre of a large and growing community, in bestowing his bounty and his services, he looked beyond the time and the space in which he lived.

The formation of a constitution for the United States, was a task to which Mr. DICKINSON's extensive political knowledge, great abilities, and enlightened views, were peculiarly adapted. Having participated in the adoption of the articles of confederation, and had abundant experience of their numerous deficiencies, and of the total impracticability of preserving public honor, social order, or even national existence, with their contracted powers and feeble authority, Mr. DICKINSON met the convention of 1787, as a delegate from Delaware, with a clear conviction of the momentous duty assigned to him, and a firm determination to leave no effort untried to rescue the country from impending ruin. His exertions were not confined to the convention. The constitution, when submitted to the people for their

ratification, met with violent, and in some quarters with unprincipled, opposition. Mr. DICKINSON published nine letters, with the signature of *Fabius*, in its defence. Although he did not enter into all the details of the plan reported by the convention, nor attempt that systematic vindication of it which was performed by the "Federalist," yet the letters of Fabius are a valuable acquisition to our stock of constitutional literature, and present a conclusive chain of reasoning on many important topics which they discussed. He very properly disregarded the fear of consolidation from the operations of the federal government, and considered the guarantees of the states, furnished by the organization of the federal system, as entirely adequate to the protection of the rights of the states, and that the freedom of the people would be more likely to be placed in jeopardy by the weakness than by the strength of the federal authority.

In the year 1792, he was a member of the convention which formed the constitution of Delaware, and displayed his usual activity and abilities in the performance of all the duties which the occasion required.

In the year 1797, he published another series of letters bearing the signature of *Fabius*, which were occasioned by the special call of congress to meet on the 25th of March. His gratitude and predilection for France, are strongly depicted in them; and although they are more than usually discursive, they are replete with liberal and generous sentiments. He professed to write from the impulse of duty, but complains that "neither my time, nor my infirmities, will permit me to be attentive to style, arrangement, or the labors of consulting former publications." Breathing an ardent desire for the extension of freedom, he seems to have viewed the exertions in France in its behalf, with admiration and high expectation; and to have looked upon the conduct of England with a jealous eye, as partaking of that description which he had devoted the prime of his life in combating.

Wilmington had been selected by him as the place of his residence, where, retired from the toil and anxieties of public life, enjoying an affluent fortune, surrounded by friends who loved him, and by books which, to him, were a constant source of consolation, he spent the concluding years of his life, dispensing among others the blessings which he enjoyed himself, and receiving in return the heartfelt tribute of popular veneration.

He was married on the 19th of July, 1770, to Mary Norris, only daughter of Isaac Norris, of Fair Hill, Philadelphia county, and had two daughters, who survive him.

He died on the 14th of Feb., 1808, at the age of seventy-five. Mr. DICKINSON deserves to be ranked among the most distinguished men of the age in which he lived. Whether we consider the extent of his participation in producing the revolutionary war, and in urging it to a prosperous termination, the steadiness of purpose which directed his path, the inflexible spirit with which he adhered to the cause amidst the numerous discouragements which beset his career, the lustre which his admirable compositions shed upon his country, his accomplishments as a scholar, the purity of his character, and elevation as an orator and statesman, an exalted station must be assigned to him in the highest rank of our most illustrious countrymen. It is, however, chiefly in his labors as an author, that his greatest merit consists. His writings are conspicuous for energy, perspicuity, and simplicity of style, and often rise to strains of impassioned eloquence. His principles were of the most liberal cast consistent with social order. His sentiments were as pure as they were exalted, and a rich vein of benevolent feeling pervades every production of his pen. His devotion to the cause of human freedom, teems in every page. Furnishing copious and exact information of many of the most prominent transactions of the revolution, and of the controversy in which it originated, in a style of unadulterated purity and elegance, his writings constitute a valuable portion of the literature of the country. We there hear the voice of the first congress, and see exhibited the fortitude and patriotism of the fathers of the republic.

Mr. DICKINSON was charged with advocating a timid policy, inconsistent with the spirit which became the great cause in which he had embarked, but nothing of the sort appears in his writings. Although he did orally advise congress to pursue a less daring course than that which was successfully adopted, when he wielded the pen, he invariably made congress speak in a manner that became its dignity, fearlessness, and exalted position, in the presence of the world and of after ages. Many of his views were peculiar. He had early acquired the opinion, that separation from England ought not to be sought after, but that the true object of pursuit was to coerce her to yield to the requisitions of freedom and of justice; and it clung to him throughout the contest. But he supported his associates in the execution of their most energetic measures, and devoted an undivided affection to the cause of his country, no matter by whom, nor in what manner directed. "Two rules I have laid down for myself throughout this contest," said he on an important question in congress, in 1779, "to which I have constantly adhered, and still design to adhere.

First, on all occasions where I am called upon, as a trustee for my countrymen, to deliberate on questions important to their happiness, disdaining all personal advantages to be derived from a suppression of my real sentiments, and defying all dangers to be risked by a declaration of them, openly to avow them; and secondly, after thus discharging this duty, whenever the public resolutions are taken, to regard them, though opposite to my opinion, as sacred, because they lead to public measures in which the common weal must be interested, and to join in supporting them as earnestly as if my voice had been given for them.

"If the present day is too warm for me to be calmly judged, I can credit my country for justice some years hence."

Having seen the patriot faithful to the end of his career, and undeviating in his course, the peculiarity of his opinions, at a critical conjuncture, should not affect the estimate which posterity should place upon his patriotism and public services.

In private life he was conspicuous for the dignity and simplicity of his manners, the benevolence of his disposition, the purity of his morals, and his veneration for religion. His conversation was distinguished for its vivacity, and enriched by the extensive stores of knowledge which, in study and in active life, he had accumulated. His charities were as munificent as they were well directed, and displayed an exalted spirit of benevolence and patriotism. As an orator, his admirers assigned to him a high grade of excellence. If his tongue partook of the fluency and animation of his pen, he must have rivalled the eloquence of his contemporaries, whose oratory has been the theme of such exalted and well merited commendation.

He possessed the most delicate sense of honor, and cherished his character for integrity with the fondest regard; of which the following occurrence, with which we shall close this brief memoir, is a striking illustration, and also vindicates his title to one of his noblest productions. Chief Justice Marshall, in the first volume of his life of Washington, erroneously ascribed the address to the king to Mr. Lee. This produced a remonstrance from Mr. DICKINSON, who, in a letter to Dr. Logan, dated Sept. 15, 1804, gives a detailed account of the proceedings of Congress, and fully vindicates his title to the authorship. The error was subsequently corrected by the chief justice. "I have said," says Mr. DICKINSON, "that the chief justice has cast a reflection upon my character, and a very serious one it is, from whatever cause it has proceeded. The severity of the reflection arises from this circumstance. In the year 1800, two young printers applied to me for my

consent to publish my political writings, from which they expected to derive some emolument. I gave my consent, and in the following year they published in this place, two octavo volumes *as my political writings.*

"This publication being made in the town where I reside, no person of understanding can doubt that I must be acquainted with the contents; of course I must be guilty of the greatest baseness if, for my credit, I knowingly permitted writings which I had not composed, to be publicly imputed to me, without a positive and public contradiction of the imputation. This contradiction I never made and never shall make, conscious, as I am, that every one of those writings was composed by me.

"The question whether I wrote the first petition to the king, is of little moment; but the question whether I have countenanced an opinion that I did write it, though in reality I did not, is to me of vast importance."

T. A. B.

FRANCIS HOPKINSON.

FRANCIS HOPKINSON, the son of Thomas and Mary Hopkinson, was born at Philadelphia in the year 1738. His mother was the niece of the Bishop of Worcester; and his father and mother, immediately after their marriage, which took place in England, came to Philadelphia, and continued to reside there until their respective deaths. His father was a man of genius, and a highly educated scholar; he was the intimate friend and scientific coadjutor of Dr. Franklin, to whom he first exhibited the experiment to prove that the electric fluid may be silently drawn off from a body charged with it, by a pointed instrument, without making the explosion and shock which attends a discharge by a blunt body. The excellent practical use to which the sagacity of Franklin turned this discovery, is well known. Thomas Hopkinson died at an early age, leaving a widow and several children, of whom FRANCIS, then not more than fourteen years old, was the eldest. Shortly after the death of his father, FRANCIS entered the college of Philadelphia, of which his father had been one of the most active-founders, as he was of the "Philadelphia Library," and other public institutions. FRANCIS was one of the first graduates of this college, and the estimation in which he was held there, is manifested by the following extract from the minutes of the board of trustees of May 20, 1766: "It was resolved, that as FRANCIS HOPKINSON, Esq., who was the first scholar in this seminary at its opening, and likewise one of the first who received a degree, was about to embark for England, and has done honor to the place of his education by his abilities and good morals, as well as rendered it many substantial services on all public occasions, the thanks of this institution ought to be delivered to him in the most affectionate and respectful manner."

After completing his collegiate education, FRANCIS entered the office of Benjamin Chew, Esq., as a student of law, and went through a regular course of study under the direction of that eminent jurist, then the attorney-general of Pennsylvania. In addition to the studies

connected with his profession, Mr. HOPKINSON gave a close application to literary and scientific pursuits, in which he delighted, until his departure for England in 1766. He remained abroad about two years, residing with his maternal relation, the Bishop of Worcester, with whom he became a great favorite, and very flattering prospects were held out to him to induce him to fix himself permanently in England. He was not to be weaned from his own country. His time in England was occupied, not with frivolous amusements, but in expanding and strengthening his faculties, and acquiring knowledge in every branch of liberal and useful science. His pen was not idle, but occasionally employed in essays in prose and verse, in which the good taste, pure morality, and brilliant wit, which always distinguished his writings, were displayed.

Soon after his return to his native city, in 1768, he married *Miss Ann Borden*, of Bordentown, New Jersey. The discontents between the colonies and the mother country were now darkening into determined hostility, and assuming the threatening aspect which afterwards broke out into open defiance and war. Mr. HOPKINSON had no hesitation as to the part he should take in this appalling controversy. The cause of his country was as dear to his heart as its justice was manifest to his judgment. He took his ground firmly and for ever at the first opening of the breach. He began with his pen, the only weapon then employed by the colonists, and published, in 1774, a pamphlet entitled "*A Pretty Story*," in which he portrayed, with a free and pungent pencil, the unjust and oppressive pretensions of England, the unalienable rights of the colonies, and their true loyalty and affection for their rash and misguided mother. This pamphlet was widely circulated, was read with avidity, and was believed to have had a prevailing influence on the public opinion and feeling. During the whole contest, Mr. HOPKINSON was never idle with his pen, even while discharging important and laborious public duties; but seized on every occasion to expose by argument, or hold up to ridicule and scorn, the shallow pretences, the oppressive claims, and wanton cruelties of the enemy. As to the character of his wit, and the effect of his writings, they are spoken of by a distinguished author and patriot, who was a contemporary, in this language: "Mr. HOPKINSON possessed uncommon talents for pleasing. His wit was not of that coarse kind which was calculated to 'set the table in a roar.' It was mild and elegant, and infused cheerfulness and a species of delicate joy, rather than mirth, into the hearts of all who heard it. His empire over the attention and passions of his company was not purchased at the expense

of innocence. A person who has passed many delightful hours in his society, declares with pleasure that he never heard him use a profane expression, nor utter a word that would have made a lady blush, or have clouded her countenance with a look of disapprobation. It is this species of wit alone that indicates a rich and powerful imagination; while that which is tinctured with profanity or indelicacy, argues poverty of genius, inasmuch as they have both been considered, very properly, as the cheapest productions of the human mind."

In the memorable year 1776, Mr. HOPKINSON, then residing at Bordentown, was appointed a delegate of the state of New Jersey to the congress of the United Colonies. His name will be found subscribed, like the rest, *firmly written*, to the "Declaration of Independence." The courage and devoted patriotism of that illustrious act can hardly be appreciated by this generation; but those who did it well knew that they were doomed men, and that they threw their lives on the stake; and that, should the struggle be unfortunate, they could never hope for forgiveness, whatever lenity might be extended to others. After this period Mr. HOPKINSON held an appointment in the loan office, and then received the commission of judge of the admiralty for the state of Pennsylvania. His decisions in that high and responsible office have been published since his death, and are received by the bench and the profession with high respect. His judgments were results of legal learning, aided by great acuteness and a steady eye to the justice and truth of the case. It should be recollected that this branch of jurisprudence, now so extended and full, was at that time comparatively new, and growing into the importance it has assumed.

The war concluded and independence achieved, the country was found in a deplorable state of poverty and weakness. The incompetency of our imperfect confederation was not only seen and felt, but was bringing us rapidly to anarchy and dissolution. The great, and wise, and virtuous men who then watched the destinies of their country, and labored to secure for her for ever the blessings they had obtained by their constancy and courage, saw that these could be gained only by establishing a "more perfect union." For this purpose the *great convention* assembled at Philadelphia in 1787; and after much deliberation, discussion, and patriotic concession, agreed upon and submitted to the people of the United States a form of government which they earnestly recommended to their adoption and support

In the interesting and ardent discussion which took place on the question of the adoption of the constitution, Mr. HOPKINSON took a decided, active, and efficient part in favor of that noble instrument,

which has been the admiration of wise and liberal men in all countries; the source and protection of unexampled prosperity in our own: and which has no longer an open and avowed enemy among us, however some may continue their efforts to weaken its powers, and others to extend and confirm them by the force of construction. Upon the absorbing subject of the ratification of the constitution, Mr. HOPKINSON wrote the "History of a New Roof," which the writer before quoted says was a "performance which for wit, humor, and good sense, must last as long as the citizens of America continue to admire, and to be happy under the present national government of the United States."

On the final adoption of the federal constitution, the admiralty jurisdiction became exclusively vested in the courts of the United States, and the state admiralty courts were of course abolished. In 1790, Mr. HOPKINSON was appointed by President Washington the judge of the district court of the United States for the district of Pennsylvania. He did not long enjoy this honor. He had been for many years subject to occasional fits of the gout, but they had not impaired his general health, nor had he suffered an attack for a considerable time previous to his death. On the ninth of May, 1791, he was suddenly struck with an epilepsy, which, in a few hours, put a period to his existence in the fifty-third year of his age.

There was an extraordinary variety and versatility in the genius and acquirements of Mr. HOPKINSON. His poetry, although not of the highest order, was smooth, and in good taste, and full of feeling. If it does not command the admiration of the critic, it touches the heart of the kind. He was a musician of a high grade in his performance on the harpsichord, and composed some songs which were well received. He was well versed in mathematics, mechanics, philosophy, and chemistry. As a satirical writer, in its best sense, he had no superior in our country; and some of his pieces will bear a comparison with those of the most celebrated wits. His "Specimen of a Collegiate Examination," and his "Letter on Whitewashing," have been published in England as the productions of their own distinguished writers.

The works of Mr. HOPKINSON, prepared by himself, were published after his death in three volumes, and are now frequently sought for.

ELIAS BOUDINOT.

As the most tranquil and prosperous periods of a nation afford but scanty materials for the historian, so it frequently happens that men eminent for their morality and virtue, and whose lives have been past in continual acts of beneficence, leave only meagre details for the instruction and example of others. The progress of professional or literary talent contains little of interest, except it is traced by the hand of one who can follow all its windings, and give us feelings as well as facts,—and the deeds of goodness which endear a man to society are done in secret, or known but to few, so that he whose death leaves the greatest void in his immediate circle is often the most speedily forgotten.

Elias Boudinot was born in Philadelphia, in the year 1740. His family was of French extraction, his great grandfather being one of the many protestants compelled to leave their country on the revocation of the edict of Nantes. His father's name was likewise Elias; his mother, Catharine Williams, was of Welsh descent. Young Boudinot received a classical education, such as was at that time common in the colonies, after which he pursued the study of the law under Richard Stockton. At the termination of his studies, entering upon the practice of his profession in New Jersey, he soon became distinguished. At the commencement of the difficulties between the colonies and the mother country, he advocated the cause of the Americans, and when hostilities had actually commenced took a decided part in favor of the colonists. In 1777, congress appointed him commissary general of prisoners, and in the same year he was elected a member of that body. In November, 1782, he was elected president of congress, and in that capacity signed the treaty of peace which was soon afterwards concluded. He now resumed the practice of the law, but in 1789, on the adoption of the Federal Constitution he was again elected a member of congress, and occupied his seat by successive reëlections for six years. In 1796, he was appointed by Washington to succeed Rittenhouse as director of the mint; in this office he continued until 1805, when resigning all public employment he retired to Burlington, N. J.

The remainder of his life BOUDINOT passed in attending to the affairs of his estate, in the study of biblical literature, which was always one of his favorite pursuits, and in the exercise of a munificent charity, both private and public. He was a trustee of Princeton college, and in 1805, founded in it a cabinet of natural history at the cost of three thousand dollars. In 1812, he was elected a member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to which he presented a donation of one hundred pounds sterling. He was active in promoting the formation of the American Bible Society, and in 1816, being elected its first president, he made it the munificent donation of ten thousand dollars. After a long life of usefulness Mr. BOUDINOT died on the twenty-fourth of October, 1821, in the eighty-second year of his age; a sincere and devout christian, his death bed was cheered by that religion which had guided him through life. He knew that his end approached, but he was prepared and ready to meet it, and his last prayer was, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

Mr. BOUDINOT married in early life the sister of his preceptor, Richard Stockton; by whom he had an only daughter, who survives him. Mrs. Boudinot died in 1808.

In his last will, after having suitably provided for his daughter, BOUDINOT bequeathed the bulk of his large property for the furtherance of those objects which he had so steadily pursued through life: the diffusion of religion, the promotion of literature, and the alleviation of the distresses of the poor. Four thousand acres of land were left to the Society for the Benefit of the Jews; five thousand dollars to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church; four thousand and eighty acres for theological students at Princeton; four thousand acres to the college of New Jersey for the establishment of fellowships; three thousand two hundred and seventy acres to the Hospital of Philadelphia; thirteen thousand acres to the mayor and corporation of Philadelphia for the supply of the poor with wood on low terms; besides, numerous other bequests for religious and charitable purposes.

Mr. BOUDINOT is the author of several publications, the principal of which is the "Star in the West, or an attempt to discover the long lost tribes of Israel, preparatory to their return to their beloved city of Jerusalem," 8vo., 1816; in which he endeavors to prove that the American Indians are the lost tribes. The work exhibits great benevolence of feeling towards the Indians, extensive research, and considerable acuteness, yet it is to be regretted that his time and talents were wasted upon a subject so ill calculated to reward his labor.

BENJAMIN RUSH, M. D.

BENJAMIN RUSH was born on his father's farm, in Byberry township, Philadelphia county, on the 24th day of December, 1745. His great-grandfather, John Rush, commanded a troop of horse in the army of Oliver Cromwell, and on the restoration of the monarchy, emigrated to Pennsylvania, in 1683. He had been personally known to the Protector. One day, seeing his horse come into the camp without him, Cromwell supposed he had been killed, and lamented him, by saying "he had not left a better officer behind him." The Bible, watch, and sword, which he owned, are still in the possession of his descendants in Pennsylvania. He settled on the farm already mentioned, and died at the age of about eighty. No lengthened account of the parentage of Dr. RUSH, is deemed necessary to a brief narrative like the present. His ancestors were plain and peaceful farmers, known in their neighborhood for their integrity and industry. Having lost his father, John Rush, in his early childhood, the care of his education devolved upon his mother, whose strength of mind and good principles proved fully adequate to the trust. His veneration for this parent knew no intermission during her long life. She died under his roof at the age of eighty; and of the illustrious individuals whom she lived to see that roof often shelter, none received from its owner more constant kindness and scrupulous attention than herself. To the judicious care she bestowed on him in his youth, he always attributed the useful aims and the many blessings of his life. Having been taught by her the rudiments of the English language, she sent him, at the age of nine years, to a grammar-school at Nottingham, in Maryland, at that time under the direction of her sister's husband, the Rev. Dr. Findley, afterwards president of the college at Princeton, in New Jersey. Here he rapidly advanced in the studies prescribed to him; and from the pious precepts and example of his instructer, and, perhaps, the primitive innocence of the secluded country in which he lived, he imbibed in childhood that veneration for religion which he cherished to the end of his days.

Having finished his preparatory course of the Latin and Greek languages, he was sent in the fourteenth year of his age to Princeton college, then under the presidency of the Rev. Mr. Davies, a man distinguished for his piety and uncommon eloquence. He received at this institution the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in 1760, before he had completed his fifteenth year. He next commenced the study of medicine in Philadelphia, under the direction of Dr. John Redman, an eminent physician, who was a kind and useful instructer to him, and whose attention he requited by faithful and untiring service. He relates, himself, that during the whole of the six years of his pupilage under Dr. Redman, he could enumerate not more than two days of interruption from business. This was an earnest of that regularity and indefatigable application which characterized his whole life. During the period of his apprenticeship, he studied with eager attention the writings of Hippocrates, Sydenham, and Boerhave, and translated the aphorisms of the former, from Greek into English. He also began to keep a note-book of remarkable occurrences, the plan of which he afterwards improved and continued through life. From a part of this record, written in the seventeenth year of his age, is derived the only account of the yellow fever, as it appeared in Philadelphia, in 1762, which has descended to posterity.

In 1766, having passed through the elementary studies in medicine, and being intent on acquiring further advantages for his destined profession, he went to Edinburgh, at that time the most esteemed medical school of Europe, where, after attending for two years the public lectures and hospitals in that capital, he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine. His thesis, by the custom of the school, was written in the Latin language, and its title was "*De concoctione ciborum in ventriculo.*" He adventured, in his own person, several experiments in support of his arguments, both revolting and perilous. These arguments displayed abilities rare even among the distinguished pupils and rivals by whom he was surrounded. The style was correct and elegant; Dr. Ramsay,* who was among the best classical scholars of our country, and who knew Dr. Rush well, says, of this thesis, that "it was written in classical Latin," and adds, "I

* In the present sketch of the life of Dr. Rush, we are indebted to Dr. Ramsay's Eulogium upon him, as well as to the memoir of him in the Biography of the signers to the Declaration of Independence, for various details which those excellent productions have made familiar to the public; in several instances, the phraseology of their recitals has been necessarily and willingly adopted.

have reason to believe without the help of a *grinder*, (teachers of Latin, then frequently employed for such purposes,) for it bears the characteristic marks of the peculiar style of its author." We are somewhat minute on this point, because it is connected with another, often referred to in Dr. RUSH's history—his alleged disparagement of the learned languages. He ranked them among the general accomplishments of a liberal education; and having, according to his ingenious and forcible essay upon the subject, spent too many years in their acquisition, he continued in after life his familiarity with them, perhaps from the desire, by which he happily says in the same essay men are sometimes influenced, of reviving, by reading the classics, the agreeable ideas of the early and innocent part of their lives. Dr. RUSH's objections to the engrossing instruction of youth in the Latin and Greek languages, have been often and elaborately questioned; but whilst his arguments upon the subject continue to be read, their vigor, and fertility in illustration, will always be impressive to the candid, if they convince not the opposing reader.

Whilst a student at Edinburgh, Dr. RUSH was commissioned by the trustees of Princeton college, to negotiate with Dr. Witherspoon, of Paisley, in Scotland, his acceptance of the presidency of their institution. His efforts and address in the fulfilment of this trust, were successful; he gained in Dr. Witherspoon a constant friend, and for the college, the advantage of a principal eminent in science and literature. He was, whilst in Scotland, ardent in his pursuit of knowledge; and was careful and fortunate in making friends, who improved his mind, and strengthened his virtues. An accidental acquaintance, formed whilst attending the same medical class with the eldest son of the earl of Leven, made him an approved intimate in the family of that pious and respected peer. The letters written in after years by this individual and the different members of his family to Dr. RUSH, prove the uncommon and affectionate impression he made upon them. We allude to this intimacy, because, though anticipating a little the order of our narrative, it is connected with an interesting incident in the life of Dr. RUSH. It happened to him a few years after, and during the war of the American revolution, to recognise among the British officers slain on the battle-field at Princeton, the dead body of one of the sons of this earl of Leven, the Honorable Captain William Leslie, who, in common with his elder brother, had shared Dr. RUSH's fond regard whilst at Edinburgh. On the person of the deceased officer was found a letter to Dr. RUSH, who, being then in the medical staff of General Washington, was the first

to discover his deceased friend among the slaughtered of the vanquished enemy. Dr. RUSH had Captain Leslie's remains conveyed to Pluckamin, in New Jersey, where he gave them an honorable grave and a recording tomb. A few years ago, a friend of the family of this officer came to this country, on purpose to erect a befitting monument to his memory; "but when he reached his grave, he saw," says a modern British publication, wherein further interesting details of the occurrence are given, that "the work was *already done.* Believing that no monument he could erect, no honors he could pay, would be equal to those rendered by the spontaneous act of a generous foe—nothing remained but to drop a tear to the memory of the unfortunate Leslie, and another of gratitude to his generous eulogist."

From Edinburgh, Dr. RUSH went to London, where he passed the winter of 1768, attending the hospitals and medical lectures of that metropolis. Dr. Letsome of Great Britain, in his "Recollections of Dr. RUSH," relates an anecdote of him whilst in London, which is creditable to his fervor of patriotism and vigor of speech; it is in the following words: "At that time there was generating great commotion in the American colonies, and a disposition to revolt from the mother country was very generally manifested. In London, several disputing societies were formed for the discussion of the question of the propriety of American resistance. A political orator warmly inveighed against the spirit of what was deemed rebellion, and observed, that "if the Americans possessed cannon, they had not even a ball to fire." These reflections called up Dr. RUSH, (then a student of medicine in London,) who said in his reply, that "if the Americans possessed no cannon balls, they could supply the deficiency by digging up the *skulls* of those ancestors who had courted expatriation from the old hemisphere, under the vivid hope of enjoying more ample freedom in the new."

The succeeding summer he devoted to his improvement in Paris, and returned, in the autumn of the same year, to his native country. He fixed his residence at Philadelphia, and at once began the practice of his profession, where he was soon established in business as a physician.

In 1769, he was elected professor of chemistry in the college of Philadelphia. In 1789, he succeeded in the same institution to the chair of the theory and practice of medicine, vacated by the death of Dr. John Morgan. In 1791, the college having been elevated to the University of Pennsylvania, he was elected in this latter establishment professor of the institutes and practice of medicine and of clinical

practice. In 1796, he received, on the resignation of Dr. Kuhn, the additional professorship of the practice of physic, which he held with the two preceding branches, though they required much laborious application, until the end of his life.

As a lecturer, Dr. RUSH's manner was most agreeable and impressive. His talent for public speaking enabled him, by frequent extemporaneous elucidation, to relieve and enliven the details of the science which he taught. His lectures were nightly retouched and enhanced from the full stores of his observation and retentive memory. The zealous student hung on his accents whilst he spoke; and the loiterer was accustomed to watch for his varieties, his fervor, and his persuasiveness. When Dr. RUSH began to lecture in the University of Pennsylvania, his medical class in that institution consisted of about twenty students: in the winter of 1812–13, at the last course he delivered, they amounted to four hundred and thirty. It is estimated that during his life he had given instruction to more than two thousand pupils, who propagated his principles and improvements in the science of medicine throughout the United States, and, in a few instances, to South America, the West Indies, and Europe. He was for many years one of the physicians of the Pennsylvania hospital, and contributed much to the usefulness of that institution, by his wise suggestions and ardent exertions in its behalf.

The medical career of Dr. RUSH was like that of other successful practitioners, until the appearance of the yellow fever in Philadelphia, in 1793. This event exhibits the most busy scene of his professional life; by its trials, he acquired his most valuable reputation. This disease, as we have already remarked, appeared in Philadelphia, in 1762, and returned after a lapse of thirty-one years with frightful violence and fatality. It commenced the first week in August, and ended towards the close of October. The city was deserted by nearly all those whom wealth or health enabled to flee. The rank grass sprung up from the untrodden pavements; and the dying crawled from their sick-beds, and breathed their last in vain implorations after their abandoning kindred and friends. Dr. RUSH was among those who staid to witness and to help in this awful calamity; and in one of the volumes of his lectures, has given a deeply interesting account of it. At one time, when not less than six thousand persons were prostrated with the disease, three practitioners only remained to administer to their necessities. From the 8th to the 15th of September, he visited and prescribed for about one hundred and twenty patients daily. His house was thronged by multitudes imploring his

assistance. He was constrained by more pressing duty to fly himself from many of these, and even to drive through the streets with such speed as might secure him from interruption, or place him beyond the cries of his wretched petitioners. His sense of duty, his charity, and the force of that precept which he often used to inculcate in his lectures, "to dispute every inch of ground with death," were the incentives to his fearless conduct during that memorable pestilence. Had the love of pecuniary gain actuated him, the wealth he might have amassed from known instances of its offers, is almost incalculable. An opulent citizen tendered him a deed for one of his best houses in Market street, if he would attend his son who was lying ill. A captain of a vessel once took from his purse twenty pounds, offering them to him if he would pay his wife a single visit. A patient whom he had cured, directed, in his first feelings of gratitude, his desk to be opened, in which large sums were heaped, requesting that he would take a part or, if he pleased, the whole as his compensation. It need scarcely be added, that where it was in his power to attend the patient, he would only receive his regular professional charge. When the illustrious Zimmerman heard of the services of Dr. RUSH during the yellow fever of '93, he wrote to a friend this enthusiastic praise: "*Sa conduite a mérité que non seulement la ville de Philadelphie, mais l'humanité entière, lui élève une statue.*" But Dr. RUSH, himself, artlessly gave the best encomium on his services at this period, *in a dream.* Its moral makes it worthy of record, and calls to mind the classic authority of the divine origin of such visions. He was attacked with this same epidemic, and his life was despaired of; he providentially recovered, and whilst convalescent, told a friend who was watching at his bed-side, that he thought in the sleep from which he had just awoke, a vast crowd of persons assembled before his front door, and besought him to come and visit their respective sick friends. True to his impressions from previous and trying days, he dreamed that he resisted their intreaties, and somewhat impatiently was about to turn from them and hurry into his carriage, when a poor woman ran forward to him, and, with outstretched hands, said, "O doctor! don't turn away from the poor! You were doomed to die of the yellow fever; but the prayers of the poor were heard by heaven, and have saved your life!" This dream may have increased his fondness for Boerhave's immortal sentiment, that "the poor were his best patients, for God was their paymaster."

The services of Dr. RUSH, before and during the war of the revolution, were conspicuous and valuable. He wrote indefatigably in favor

of American independence; and, along with John Adams, he persuaded Thomas Paine to undertake with his pen the defence of the colonies. He suggested to Paine the words "Common Sense," as the title of his first political paper. In June, 1776, he was a member of the provincial conference which met in Philadelphia, and on the 23d of that month moved the appointment of a committee to draft an address expressive of the sense of the conference respecting the independence of the American colonies. Dr. RUSH, who, with James Smith and Thomas M'Kean, had been appointed for this purpose, the next day reported a declaration, which was adopted in the conference, and presented to the American congress the day after. This declaration, similar even in its phraseology, anticipated almost the whole of the Declaration of Independence. It may be found, together with the preceding facts, in the first volume of the Journal of the house of representatives of Pennsylvania. Immediately after this, he was chosen a member of the American congress of '76, and on the 4th day of July, in that year, signed the memorable charter of his country's freedom.

In 1777, he was appointed for the middle department, physician-general of the military hospitals; and, as such, attended his wounded countrymen at the battles of Princeton and Brandywine. In 1787, he was a member of the convention of Pennsylvania for the adoption of the federal constitution. In a letter to a friend in a distant state, dated in October of the same year, he says, "The new federal government will be adopted by our state. It is a masterpiece of human wisdom, and happily accommodated to the present state of society. I now look forward to a golden age. The new constitution realizes every hope of the patriot, and rewards every toil of the hero. My fellow-citizens insist on putting me in the state convention, which will meet on the last Tuesday in next month. Will my mind bear such numerous, complicated, and opposite studies and occupations? I love my country ardently, and have not been idle in promoting her interests during the session of the convention. Every thing published in all our papers, except 'The Foreign Spectator,' during the whole summer, was the effusion of my federal principles. Since the convention has risen, I have been followed by many writers who have great merit. I enclose you some of my paragraphs from Hall and Seller's paper, to be republished in your state." When this convention adjourned, and the plan of the federal constitution was published, he was actively engaged at frequent meetings with the members of the legislature, in fixing the outlines of a new form of state government.

After the establishment of the federal government, he withdrew altogether from public life and political occupations; devoting himself exclusively to the duties of his profession, its cheerful studies, and its social services. Although the history of his country, and the brief allusion we have made to it, enrol Dr. RUSH amongst its pure and efficient patriots, it is as a skilful, humane, and accomplished healer of diseases, that he is to this day most vividly remembered; it is as a medical and moral writer, who so often "adorned" what he "touched," that his memory comes frequently and gratefully to an after age.

Dr. RUSH was a public writer for forty-nine years, from the nineteenth to the sixty-eighth year of his age and a public teacher of medicine, from the age of twenty-four, to the end of his life. The brief limit of his present biography, allows but a general notice of the system of medicine which he taught. It differed materially from those of Hoffman, Cullen, and Brown. His chief medical principle was to attend to the state of the system, under every circumstance of age, idiosyncrasy, epidemic, and climate, and prescribe accordingly. He rejected the nosological classification of diseases, upon the ground that they comprehended under their nomenclature an aggregate of variable phenomena, for which remedies varying according to the symptoms of the patient, rather than uniform rules of practice, were to be preferred. He was assured of the efficacy of this system, by an experience, which, in extensive and successful contention with disease, could not have been surpassed. Time, with its proverbial discernment, has adopted his improvements in medicine as familiar truths, and rewards him who taught them with its lasting honor. He also first believed in and promulgated the domestic origin of the yellow fever, a doctrine greatly opposed by his medical contemporaries, and the community in which he lived. Time, in this instance also, has affixed to his opinion the seal of its practical truth. Dr. Chirvin, who, by the direction of the French government, lately collected the opinions of the medical profession in America as to the contagion of the yellow fever, ascertained the ratio of non-contagionists to be five hundred and sixty-seven, to twenty-eight contagionists.

The space allotted to the present biographical notice of Dr. RUSH, will not allow a full enumeration of his printed works. The principal of these are, Medical Inquiries and Observations, in four volumes; a volume of Essays, literary, moral, and philosophical; a volume of Lectures, introductory, for the most part, to his course of lectures on the institutes and practice of medicine. He wrote an Inquiry into the effect of public punishments upon criminals and upon society; and

soon afterwards, an Essay on the consistency of capital punishments with reason and revelation. His "Inquiry into the effects of ardent spirits upon the body and mind," is written with all the force of his genius and knowledge. It was published in the form of a pamphlet, and distributed gratuitously among the poor. "Except," says one of his biographers, "Dr. Franklin's Way to Wealth, no small publication ever had a more extensive circulation, or did more good." His Essay on the influence of physical causes on the moral faculty, "has been," says the same authority, "universally admired as one of the most profound productions of modern times." The last work of Dr. RUSH was "Medical Inquiries and Observations upon the Diseases of the Mind," "which," it has been said, "were all his other writings lost, would keep alive the memory of his usefulness." It has been pronounced "at once a metaphysical treatise on human understanding; a physiological theory of organic and thinking life; a book of the best maxims to promote wisdom and happiness; in fine, a collection of classical, polite, poetical, and sound literature." He received, during his life, various testimonials of his meritorious services. The board of health of Philadelphia, gave him a massive piece of plate for his gratuitous attendance on the poor, during the epidemic of 1793. In 1805, he received from the king of Prussia a gold medal for his replies to queries on the yellow fever. In 1807, the queen of Etruria presented him with a similar medal for a paper upon the same subject, written at her request. In 1811, he received a diamond ring of great value from the emperor of Russia, as a proof of that monarch's estimation of his medical character and writings. Through the cordiality of a friend, the latter gift was noticed with approbation in the newspapers of the day, and it is remembered that its notoriety gave positive annoyance to the honored and modest subject of it. He was a member of many foreign literary and scientific societies; and for the last sixteen years of his life, was treasurer of the mint of the United States.

Dr. RUSH's social qualities were founded in the kindness of his heart, and brightened by the polish that his intellect was constantly receiving. The sick found in him their friend and enlivener, as well as their physician. Superior minds sought him for pleasure and for profit. And at the mind of his inferiors, he hesitated not to knock for admission; for all of these, he believed, had something within, however small, that was worth his surveying. He was prompt to discern and assist the efforts of struggling merit, and was emphatically *the friend of young men.* His religious principles were practical and fervent, they were fostered by the purity and humility of his

heart, in deeds of kindness and "good will to men," and in unabating reverence to the word and the ministers of God. To a friend who once asked him if he was not almost tired of promoting new societies he replied, "there is *one more* I wish to see established, and that is a *Bible society*." The term was practically unknown in this country, when he thus used it.

In January, 1776, he was married to Julia, the eldest daughter of Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, a member of the American congress of that year. The father and son-in-law were soon doubly united by the enduring national instrument to which they both set their names. Of this marriage, a widow and large family survived him.

Dr. RUSH, in person, was above the middle size, slender, and well proportioned. His forehead was prominent and finely shaped, his eyes blue and very expressive; the rest of his features were regular and comely. All his biographers have described his appearance as dignified and pleasing.

In the undiminished vigor of his mental faculties,—in the fullest season of his activity, prosperity, and value,—he was seized with an epidemic, termed typhus fever, then prevalent in Philadelphia, and died in that city, after a few days' illness, on the 19th of April, 1813, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. The community regretted his death as a public and serious loss; and the poor—they who had always been his care, and whom he remembered in his dying words—pressed into his house to touch his coffin ere it was laid in the earth. He was buried in Christ's Church graveyard; and with an imagination that foresaw so much, he has, in one of his lectures, spoken prophetically of his own tomb. "Medicine without principles," says he, "is an humble art, and a degrading profession. It reduces the physician to a level with the cook and the nurse, who administer to the appetites and the weakness of sick people. But directed by principles, it imparts the highest elevation to the intellectual and moral condition of man. In spite, therefore, of the obloquy with which they have been treated, let us resolve to cultivate them as long as we live. This, gentlemen, is my determination as long as I am able to totter to this chair; and if a tombstone be afforded after my death to rescue my humble name for a few years from oblivion, I ask no further addition to it, than that 'I was an advocate for principles in medicine.'" His wish has been fulfilled. A few months ago, the writer of the foregoing sketch saw on Dr. RUSH's plain and grass-trodden tomb, the words of this desired "addition," traced by the pencil of some unknown pupil, friend, or admirer.

DAVID RAMSAY, M. D.

DAVID RAMSAY* was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, on the 2d day of April, 1749. He was the youngest child of James Ramsay, a respectable farmer, who had emigrated from Ireland at an early age, and by the cultivation of his farm, with his own hands, provided the means of subsistence and education for a numerous family. He was a man of intelligence and piety, and early sowed the seeds of knowledge and religion in the minds of his children. He lived to reap the fruit of his labors, and to see his offspring grow up around him, ornaments of society, and props of his declining years.

The early impressions which the care of this excellent parent made on the mind of Dr. RAMSAY, were never erased. He had the misfortune to lose an amiable and excellent mother very early in life; but that loss was in some measure repaired by his father, who took uncommon pains to give him the best education that could be then obtained in this country. He was, from his infancy, remarkable for his attachment to books, and for the rapid progress he made in acquiring knowledge. At six years of age, he read the Bible with facility, and, it is said, was peculiarly delighted with the historical parts of it. When placed at a grammar school, his progress was very remarkable. It was no uncommon thing, says a gentleman who knew him intimately at that time, to see students who had almost arrived at manhood, taking the child upon their knees, in order to obtain his assistance in the construction and explanation of difficult passages in their lessons. Before he was twelve years of age, he had read, more than once, all the classics usually studied at grammar schools, and was, in every respect, qualified for admission into college;

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* The author of this article having prepared and published in the Analectic Magazine a memoir of DR. RAMSAY shortly after his death, which was prefixed to his History of the United States, deems no apology necessary for drawing his materials from that source.

but being thought too young for collegiate studies, he accepted the place of assistant tutor in a reputable academy in Carlisle, and, notwithstanding his tender years, acquitted himself to the admiration of every one. He continued upwards of a year in this situation, and then went to Princeton. On his examination, he was found qualified for admission into the junior class; but, in consequence of his extreme youth, the faculty advised him to enter as a sophomore, which he did; and having passed through college with high reputation, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in the year 1765, being then only sixteen years of age.

Having completed the usual college course at sixteen, he was enabled to devote some time to the general cultivation of his mind, before he commenced the study of physic; and he spent nearly two years in Maryland, as a private tutor in a respectable family, devoting himself to books, and enriching his mind with stores of useful knowledge.

He then commenced the study of physic, under the direction of Dr. Bond, in Philadelphia, where he regularly attended the lectures delivered at the college of Pennsylvania, the parent of that celebrated medical school which has since become so distinguished. Dr. Rush was then professor of chemistry in that college: and this led to a friendship between Dr. Rush, the able and accomplished master, and RAMSAY, the ready, ingenious, and attentive student, that was fondly cherished by both, and continued to strengthen and increase to the latest moment of their lives. For Dr. Rush young RAMSAY felt a filial affection; he regarded him as a benefactor, while he entertained the highest veneration for his talents. He never had any hesitation in declaring himself an advocate of the principles introduced by Dr. Rush in the theory and practice of medicine; and in his eulogium on Dr. Rush, a last public tribute of respect to the memory of his lamented friend, he declares, that "his own experience had been uniformly in their favor, ever since they were first promulgated;" and adds a declaration, that, in his "opinion, Dr. Rush had done more to improve the theory and practice of medicine than any one physician, either living or dead." Dr. RAMSAY was graduated Bachelor of Physic—a degree at that time uniformly conferred—early in the year 1772, and immediately commenced the practice of physic, at the "*Head of the Bohemia*," in Maryland, where he continued to practise with much reputation for about a year, when he removed to Charleston. Dr. Rush, in a letter written September 15, 1773, after stating that he would recommend Dr. RAMSAY to fill the opening

which then existed in Charleston, thus proceeds: "Dr. RAMSAY studied physic regularly with Dr. Bond, attended the hospital and public lectures of medicine, and afterwards graduated Bachelor of Physic, with great eclat. It is saying but little of him to tell you, that he is far superior to any person we ever graduated at our college: his abilities are not only good, but great; his talents and knowledge, universal. I never saw so much strength of memory and imagination, united to so fine a judgment. His manners are polished and agreeable, his conversation lively, and his behaviour, to all men, always without offence. Joined to all these, he is sound in his principles; strict, nay more, severe in his morals; and attached, not by education only, but by principle, to the dissenting interest. He will be an acquisition to your society. He writes, talks, and—what is more—lives well. I can promise more for him, in every thing, than I could for myself."

Such was the character of Dr. RAMSAY, at the commmencement of his career in life.

On settling in Charleston, he rapidly rose to eminence in his profession and general respect. His talents, his habits of business, and uncommon industry, eminently qualified him for an active part in public affairs, and induced his fellow-citizens to call upon him, on all occasions, when any thing was to be done for the common welfare. In our revolutionary struggle he was a decided and active whig, and was one of the earliest and most zealous advocates of American independence.

On the 4th of July, 1778, he was appointed to deliver an oration before the inhabitants of Charleston. In this oration, the first ever delivered in the United States on the anniversary of American independence, he boldly declares, that "our present form of government is every way preferable to the royal one we have lately renounced." In establishing this position, he takes a glowing view of the natural tendency of republican forms of government, to promote knowledge; to call into exercise the active energies of the human soul; to bring forward modest merit; to destroy luxury, and establish simplicity, in the manners and habits of the people; and, finally, to promote the cause of virtue and religion.

In every period of the war, Dr. RAMSAY wrote and spoke boldly and constantly; and, by his personal exertions in the legislature and in the field, was very serviceable to the cause of American liberty. The fugitive pieces written by him, from the commencement of that struggle, were not thought by himself of sufficient importance to be

preserved; yet it is well known to his contemporaries, that on political topics no man wrote more or better than Dr. RAMSAY, in all the public journals of the day.

For a short period, he was with the army as a surgeon, and he was present with the Charleston ancient battalion of artillery, at the siege of Savannah.

From the declaration of independence, to the termination of the war, he was a member of the legislature of South Carolina. For two years, he had the honor of being one of the privy council; and, with two others of that body, was among those citizens of Charleston who were banished by the British authorities to St. Augustine.

In consequence of an exchange of prisoners, Dr. RAMSAY was sent back to the United States, after an absence of eleven months. He immediately took his seat, as a member of the state legislature, then convened at Jacksonborough. It was at this assembly that the various acts, confiscating the estates of the adherents to Great Britain, were passed. Dr. RAMSAY being conciliatory in his disposition, tolerant and humane in his principles, and the friend of peace, although he well knew that the conduct of some of those who fell under the operation of these laws merited all the severity that could be used toward them; yet he remembered, also, that many others were acting from the honest dictates of conscience. He could not, therefore, approve of the confiscation acts, and he opposed them in every shape. Dr. RAMSAY continued to possess the undiminished confidence of his fellow-citizens, and was, in February, 1782, elected a member of the continental congress. In this body he was always conspicuous, and particularly exerted himself in procuring relief for the southern states, then overrun by the enemy. On the peace, he returned to Charleston, and recommenced the practice of his profession; but he was not permitted long to remain in private life, and, in 1785, was again elected a member of congress from Charleston district. The celebrated John Hancock had been chosen president of that body, but being unable to attend from indisposition, Dr. RAMSAY was elected president *pro tempore*, and continued, for a whole year, to discharge the important duties of that station, with much ability, industry, and impartiality. In 1786, he again returned to Charleston, and reëntered the walks of private life. In the state legislature, and in the continental congress, Dr. RAMSAY was useful and influential. He was a remarkably fluent, rapid, and ready speaker; and though his manner was ungraceful, though he neglected all ornament, and never addressed himself to the imagination or the passions of his

audience, yet his style was so simple and pure, his reasoning so cogent, his remarks so striking and original, and his conclusions resulted so clearly from his premises, that he seldom failed to convince.

He was so ready to impart to others his extensive knowledge on all subjects, that whenever consultation became necessary, his opinion and advice were looked for as a matter of course, and it was always given with great brevity and perspicuity. Thus he became the most active member of every association, public or private, to which he was attached.

In general politics, he was thoroughly and truly a republican. Through the course of a long life, his principles suffered no change—he died in those of his youth. With mere party politics he had little to do. Always disposed to believe his opponents to be the friends of their country, he endeavored, by his language and example, to allay party feeling, and to teach all his fellow-citizens to regard themselves as members of the same great family.

Through the whole course of his life, he was assiduous in the practice of his profession. Whenever his services were required, he never hesitated to render them promptly, at every sacrifice of personal convenience and safety. In his medical principles, he was a rigid disciple of Rush, and his practice was remarkably bold. Instead of endeavoring to overcome diseases by repeated efforts, it was his aim to subdue them at once, by a single vigorous remedy. This mode of practice is probably well adapted to southern latitudes, where disease is so sudden in its approach, and so rapid in its effects. In the treatment of the yellow fever, Dr. RAMSAY is said to have been uncommonly successful: and it is well known that he effected several remarkable cures, in cases of wounds received from poisonous animals. Those who knew him best, and had the experience of his services in their families for forty-two years, entertained the most exalted opinion of his professional merits.

His widely-extended reputation naturally induced many strangers who visited Charleston, in search of health, to place themselves under his care; and they always found in him the hospitable friend, as well as the attentive physician.

We proceed to consider Dr. RAMSAY as an author. It is in this character he is best known and most distinguished. His reputation was not only well established in every part of the United States, but had extended to Europe. Few men in America have written more, and perhaps no one has written better. The citizens of the United

States have long regarded him as the father of history in the New World; and he has always been ranked among those on whom America must depend for her literary character. He was admirably calculated by nature, education, and habit, to become the historian of his country. He possessed a memory so tenacious, that an impression once made on it could never be erased. The minutest circumstances of his early youth, facts and dates relative to every incident of his own life, and all public events, were indelibly engraven on his memory. He was, in truth, a living chronicle.

His learning and uncommon industry eminently fitted him for the pursuits of an historian. He was above prejudice, and absolute master of passion. "I declare," says he, in the introduction to his first work, "that, embracing every opportunity of obtaining genuine information, I have sought for truth, and have asserted nothing but what I believe to be fact. If I should be mistaken, I will, on conviction, willingly retract it. During the whole course of my writing, I have carefully watched the workings of my mind, lest passion, prejudice, or a party feeling, should warp my judgment. I have endeavored to impress on myself, how much more honorable it is to write impartially, for the good of posterity, than to condescend to be the apologist of a party. Notwithstanding this care to guard against partiality, I expect to be charged with it by both of the late contending parties. The suffering Americans, who have seen and felt the ravages and oppressions of the British army, will accuse me of too great moderation. Europeans, who have heard much of American cowardice, perfidy, and ingratitude, and more of British honor, clemency, and moderation, will probably condemn my work, as the offspring of party zeal. I shall decline the fruitless attempt of aiming to please either, and, instead thereof, follow the attractions of truth, whithersoever she may lead." From these resolutions the historian never departed.

From the beginning to the close of the war, Dr. RAMSAY was carefully collecting materials for this work. After it was completed, it was submitted to the perusal of General Greene, who having given his assent to all the statements made therein, the History of the Revolution in South Carolina was published in 1785. Its reputation soon spread throughout the United States, and it was translated into French, and read with great avidity in Europe.

It was ever the wish of Dr. RAMSAY to render lasting services to his country; and, being well aware that a general history of the revolution would be more extensively useful than a work confined to the transactions of a particular state, want of materials alone prevented

him, in the first instance, from undertaking the former, in preference to the latter. When, therefore, in the year 1785, he took his seat in congress, finding himself associated with many of the most distinguished heroes and statesmen of the revolution, and having free access to all the public records and documents that could throw light on the events of the war, he immediately commenced the History of the American Revolution. Notwithstanding his public duties, he found time sufficient to collect from the public offices, and from every living source, the materials for this valuable work. With Dr. Franklin and Dr. Witherspoon, both of them his intimate friends, he conferred freely, and gained much valuable information from them. Anxious to obtain every important fact, he also visited General Washington, at Mount Vernon, and was readily furnished by him with all the information required, relative to the events in which that great man had been the chief actor. Dr. RAMSAY thus possessed greater facilities for procuring materials for the History of the Revolution, than any other individual of the United States. He had been an eye-witness of many of its events, and was a conspicuous actor in its busy scenes. He was the friend of Washington, Franklin, Witherspoon, and a host of others, who were intimately acquainted with all the events of the war; and it may be said, with perfect truth, that no writer was ever more industrious in collecting facts, or more honest in relating them. The History of the American Revolution was published in 1790, and was received with universal approbation. It is not necessary to analyze the character of a work that has stood the test of public opinion, and passed through the crucible of criticism.

In 1801, Dr. RAMSAY gave to the world his Life of Washington; as fine a piece of biography as can be found in any language. It will not suffer in comparison with the best productions of ancient or modern times. Indeed, our biographer had one great advantage over all others—we mean the exalted and unrivalled character of our hero—a character "above all Greek, above all Roman fame."

In 1808, Dr. RAMSAY published his History of South Carolina, in two volumes, octavo. He had, in 1796, published an interesting "Sketch of the soil, climate, weather, and diseases of South Carolina;" and this probably suggested the idea of a more minute history of the state. No pains were spared, to make this work valuable and useful. The author was himself well acquainted with many of the facts he has recorded; and, by the means of circular letters, addressed to intelligent gentlemen, in every part of the state, the most correct

information was obtained. Many important facts are thus preserved, that must otherwise have been soon forgotten; and by this publication, the author fully supported the reputation he had so justly acquired. The death of his wife, in 1811, induced him to publish, a short time afterwards, the memoirs of her life. This interesting little volume, which, in addition to the life of Mrs. Ramsay, contains some of the productions of her own pen, is very generally read, and has been extensively useful.

In addition to the works already mentioned, Dr. RAMSAY published "An Oration on the acquisition of Louisiana;" "A Review of the improvements, progress, and state of medicine in the eighteenth century," delivered on the first day of the new century; "A Medical Register, for the year 1802;" "A Dissertation on the means of preserving health in Charleston;" "A Biographical Chart, on a new plan, to facilitate the study of History;" and a "Eulogium on Dr. Rush." All these works have merit, in their several departments; particularly the Review of the Eighteenth Century, which contains perhaps as much medical information, in a small space, as can be found in any production of the kind. He had also committed to the press, a short time previous to his death, "A Brief History of the Independent or Congregational Church in Charleston." To this church he had, from his youth, been strongly attached, and this little history was meant as a tribute of affection.

The increasing demand for the History of the American Revolution induced the author, several years before his death, to resolve to publish an improved edition of that work. In preparing this, it occurred to him, that a history of the United States, from their first settlement, as English colonies, including as much of the revolution as is important to be known, brought down to the present day, would be more interesting to the public, as well as more extensively useful. After completing this, up to the year 1808, he determined to publish it in connection with his Universal History, hereafter to be mentioned. Had not death arrested his progress, he would have brought down this work to the end of the late war.

But the last and greatest work of the American historian yet remains to be mentioned. He had, for upwards of forty years, been preparing for the press a series of historical volumes, which, when finished, were to bear the title of "Universal History Americanised, or a Historical View of the World, from the earliest records to the nineteenth century, with a particular reference to the state of society, literature religion, and form of government in the United States of

America."* The mind of Dr. RAMSAY was perpetually grasping after knowledge, and the idea, so well expressed by Sir William Jones, "that it would be happy for us if all great works were reduced to their quintessence," had often occurred to his mind. It was a circumstance deeply lamented by him, that knowledge, the food of the soul, should be, in such a great measure, confined to literary and professional men; and he has often declared, that if men of business would only employ one hour in every twenty-four in the cultivation of the mind, they would become well informed on all subjects. It had also forcibly suggested itself to his mind, that all of the histories that had been written, were chiefly designed for the benefit of the Old World, while America passed almost unnoticed, and was treated as unimportant in the scale of nations. With a view, therefore, of reducing all valuable historical facts within a small compass, to form a digest for the use of those whose leisure would not admit of more extensive reading, this great work was undertaken.

The labor of such an undertaking must have been great indeed; and when we remember the other numerous works which occupied the attention of the author, and the interruptions to which he was constantly exposed from professional avocations, we are at a loss to conceive how he found time for such various employments. But it has been truly said of him, that "no miser was ever so precious of his gold as he was of his time;" he was not merely economical, but parsimonious of it to the highest degree. From those avocations which occupy so great a proportion of the lives of ordinary men, Dr. RAMSAY subtracted as much as possible. He never allowed for the table, for recreation, or repose, a single moment that was not absolutely necessary for the preservation of his health. His habits were those of the strictest temperance. He usually slept four hours, rose before the light, and meditated with his book in his hand, until he could see to read. He had no relish for the pleasures of the table. He always ate what was set before him; and, having snatched his hasty meal, returned to his labors. His evenings, only, were allotted to recreation. He never read by the light of a candle: with the first shades of the evening, he laid aside his book and his pen, and, surrounded by his family and friends, gave loose to those

* This work has been published since his death, by Carey and Lee, in nine volumes, in connection with his History of the United States, in three more, making in all twelve volumes.

paternal and social feelings, which ever dwell in the bosom of the good man.

The great merit of Dr. RAMSAY as a writer is now generally acknowledged. We are sure that we but imbody the opinion of literary men in this country when we say, that as an historian, RAMSAY is faithful, judicious, and impartial; that his style is classical and chaste; and, if occasionally tinctured by originality of idea, or singularity of expression, it is perfectly free from affected obscurity or labored ornament. Its energy of thought is tempered by its simplicity and beauty of style.

His remarks on the nature of man, and various other topics, which incidentally present themselves, display much observation, and extensive information. His style is admirably calculated for history. Modern histories are so full of ornament, that, in the blaze of eloquence, simple facts are lost sight of, and the pages of the professed historian frequently contain little more than profound observations on human life and political institutions.

It was the opinion of Dr. RAMSAY, "that an historian should be an impartial recorder of past events for the information of after ages;" and by this opinion he was always governed. History, that gives us the experience of a thousand years in one day, loses half its value, when it ceases to be a simple record of past events.

The reputation of Dr. RAMSAY throughout the United States is, perhaps, the best criterion of his merits as a writer; and still the value of his works, and particularly of his histories of the revolution, can scarcely be said to be properly appreciated by the public.

We have considered the character of Dr. RAMSAY as a physician, a statesman, and an historian; let us now briefly recount his virtues as a man.

The mind of DAVID RAMSAY was cast in no common mould—his virtues were of no ordinary stamp. Not that his acquirements were unequalled, or his virtues supereminent; but these virtues and acquirements were so combined as to constitute a strong and almost original character. Dr. RAMSAY was distinguished for philanthropy, enterprise, industry, and perseverance. It was his habit to regard himself only as a member of the great human family; and his whole life was devoted to the formation and prosecution of plans for the good of others: he rejoiced far more sincerely at the success of measures for ameliorating the condition of mankind, than at those which resulted in his own immediate benefit. He was alike regardless of wealth, and free from ambition: and his active philanthropy only,

made him an author. His active mind was ever devising means for the improvement of the moral, social, intellectual, and physical state of his beloved country. He was an enthusiast in every thing which tended to promote these darling objects. To carry the benefits of education into every family; to introduce the Bible, and extend the blessings of Christianity, to the most sequestered parts of the American continent; and to bring commerce, by means of central navigation. to every door, were his favorite objects; to the full accomplishment of which, he looked forward with the most ardent expectation: and he unceasingly devoted his talents and influence to their promotion.

Want of judgment in the affairs of the world was the weak point of his character. In common with most eminent literary men, he had studied human nature more from books than actual observation, and had derived his knowledge of the world from speculation, rather than actual experience. Hence resulted a want of that sober judgment, and correct estimate of men and things, so essentially necessary to success in worldly pursuits. This was the great defect in his mind; and, as if to show the fatal effects of a single error, this alone frustrated almost all his schemes, and, through the whole course of a long and useful life, involved him in perpetual difficulties and embarrassments, from which he was never able to extricate himself. Judging of others from the upright intentions of his own heart, he frequently became the dupe of the designing and fraudulent. His philanthropy constantly urged him to the adoption of plans of extensive utility; his enterprise led him to select those most difficult to accomplish; and his perseverance never permitted him to abandon what he had once undertaken. Hence, yielding to visionary schemes, and pursuing them with unflagging ardor, he seldom abandoned them until too late to retrieve what had been lost. What he planned for others he was always ready to support by his tongue, his pen, and his purse. Among numerous examples of this disposition which might be found in the life of Dr. RAMSAY, it will be sufficient to mention the zeal and perseverance with which he proposed and urged the formation of a company for the establishment of the Santee canal in South Carolina, a work of great public utility, but attended by the most ruinous consequences to the individuals who supported it. As he was the first to propose, he was the very last to abandon the expectation of immense profits from this work; and by this single enterprise he sustained a loss of thirty thousand dollars. But whatever were his errors, no man was governed by purer motives, or more upright intentions. Long will the loss of his talents, activity,

and perseverance, be felt by the community in which he lived, and the various public institutions to which he belonged.

In society he was a most agreeable companion; his memory was stored with an infinite fund of interesting or amusing anecdotes, which gave great sprightliness and zest to his conversation. He never assumed any superiority over those with whom he conversed, and always took peculiar pleasure in the society of young men of intelligence or piety.

Dr. RAMSAY had studied the Bible with the greatest care. He believed its doctrines, and practised its precepts. His religious views and opinions evinced a pious, liberal, and independent mind. They were formed from the sacred volume, unfettered by any prejudice of education, or over attachment to sect or denomination. He saw in the Scriptures a religion truly divine, and clearly discerned a wide and essential difference between the scheme there revealed, and the best system of religion or of ethics which unaided human reason had ever framed. On all the grand and peculiar doctrines of the gospel, his mind felt no hesitation, and underwent no change. But for the minor doctrines of the gospel, the rites, forms, ceremonies, and external administrations of the church, though he was far from deeming them unimportant, yet he could not exclude from the charity of his heart any individual, or any church, in which he discovered the radical principles of Christianity. He believed that most sects concurred in the essential doctrines of salvation: and no man could be more disposed to acknowledge as "brethren in Christ," all "who did the will of their heavenly Father."

His principles influenced all his actions. In every situation he preserved the most unruffled equanimity. He was a firm believer in the doctrine of the particular providence of GOD; and hence, in a great measure, resulted his composure. Events that would extremely disconcert almost any other man, scarcely moved him at all. Those who witnessed his behaviour under some of the severest trials of life, must be convinced that the sentiment, that "God does all things well," was deeply engraven on his heart. His life was a chequered scene, and presented frequent opportunities for the exercise of his principles. No man ever began life with fairer prospects; not a cloud was to be seen in his horizon. Possessed of talents, reputation, fortune, and friends, he bid fair to pass his days in the sunshine of prosperity, and to have his evening gilded by the beams of happiness. But misfortune overtook him, and he was stripped of all his comforts. In old age, when the weary soul seeks repose, calamity came upon

him, and was the constant inmate of his house. A son, grown to manhood, who promised fair to imitate his father's virtues, was suddenly cut down. A tender and excellent wife, the mother of his eight surviving children, was torn from his embrace, and consigned to the tomb.

These calamities might well have "brought down his gray hairs with sorrow to the grave:" but, amidst the troubled waters of affliction, he stood like a rock; and, though their waves broke over him, he was firm and immoveable.

As a husband, as a father, and in every domestic relation of life, he was alike exemplary. The closing scene of Dr. RAMSAY's life was alone wanting to put a seal to his character. He fell by the hand of an assassin, whom he had never wronged, but whom, on the contrary, he had humanely endeavored to serve. If harmlessness of manners, suavity of temper, and peaceableness of deportment—if a heart glowing with benevolence, and a disposition to do good to all men, are characteristics that would promise to any one security, he had not, on all these grounds, the least cause to apprehend or guard against hostility. The fatal wound was received in the open street, and at noon-day, under circumstances of horror calculated to appal the stoutest heart; yet the unfortunate victim was calm and self-possessed.*

Having been carried home, and being surrounded by a crowd of anxious citizens, after first calling their attention to what he was about to utter, he said, "I know not if these wounds be mortal. I am not afraid to die; but should that be my fate, I call on all here present to bear witness, that I consider the unfortunate perpetrator of this deed a lunatic, and free from guilt." During the two days that he lingered

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* The history of this mournful transaction is this. A man by the name of William Linnen, a tailor by trade, having been for some crime thrown into prison, it was on his trial represented to the court, that he was under the influence of mental derangement. Dr. RAMSAY and Dr. Benjamin Simons were appointed by the court to examine and report on his case. They concurred in opinion, that Linnen was deranged, and that it would be dangerous to let him go at large. He was therefore remanded to prison, where he was confined, until exhibiting symptoms of returning sanity he was discharged. He behaved himself peaceably for some time; but was heard to declare, that he would "kill the doctors who had joined in the conspiracy against him." On Saturday, the 6th of May, Dr. RAMSAY was met in Broad street, about one o'clock in the afternoon, within sight of his own door, by the wretched maniac, who passed by, and taking a large horseman's pistol, charged with three bullets, out of a handkerchief in which it was concealed, shot the doctor in the back. The perpetrator of this deed was immediately arrested, and committed to prison, where he remained confined as a maniac till his death.

on the bed of death, he alone could survey without emotion the approaching end of his life. Death had for him no terrors; and, on Monday, the 8th of May, 1815, about seven in the morning,

> "He gave his honors to the world again,
> His blessed part to heaven, and slept in peace."

R. Y. H.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

Arthur St. Clair was born at Edinburgh in the year 1734. He was of a distinguished family, but little is known of his early history. The advantages offered by a new country probably induced him to emigrate to America, where he arrived, with Admiral Boscawen, in 1755. Having served in Canada, in 1759 and 1760, as a lieutenant under General Wolfe, he was, after the peace of 1763, appointed to the command of fort Ligonier, in Pennsylvania. How soon afterwards he left the British army, and entered upon the pursuits of civil life alone, does not distinctly appear; but in December, 1775, he was married, and, to use his own language, "held six offices in Pennsylvania, all of them lucrative; viz., clerk of the court of general quarter sessions, prothonotary of the court of common pleas, judge of probate, register of wills, recorder of deeds, and surveyor of the largest county in the province." Having accompanied the commissioners appointed by congress, in 1775, to treat with the Indians at fort Pitt, and acted as their secretary, he attracted the attention of that body, and, without any solicitation on his part, received a commission as colonel in the army. He repaired immediately to Philadelphia, where, in January, 1776, he received orders to raise a regiment, destined to serve in Canada, the well-known scene of former services. The regiment was raised in six weeks, and left Philadelphia in perfect order on the 12th of March, and six companies of it arrived in the neighborhood of Quebec on the 11th of May, in time to cover the retreat of the American troops from that place, while the other four companies took post at Sorel, on the St. Lawrence.

In the operations of the American troops in Canada in 1776, Colonel St. Clair had his full share. He was appointed a brigadier general on the 9th August, 1776, and was ordered, in the autumn of that year, to repair to General Washington's army, then retreating through New Jersey; and he was fortunate enough to join it in time to parti-

cipate actively in the battle at Trenton, and the subsequent engagement at Princeton: events which turned the tide of success in favor of America.

On the 19th of February, 1777, congress appointed him a major general. On the 5th of June, he was ordered by General Schuyler to take command at Ticonderoga, and accordingly reached that post on the 12th, where he found a garrison of about two thousand men, badly armed, worse clad, and without magazines. A garrison of at least ten thousand well appointed troops was necessary for the defence of Ticonderoga, and both General Schuyler and General Gates had demanded that number of congress; but unfortunately that body had received information on which it relied, that a large portion of the British army in Canada had been ordered to New York by sea, and that no serious operations were intended against the northern frontier. Under this erroneous impression, the troops intended for the defence of Ticonderoga had been detained near the coast. A council of general officers, held the 5th of July, 1777, directed the evacuation of the post, which was deemed untenable against a British and German force of seven thousand five hundred troops, by which it was invested. From some cause,—probably from the gallantry displayed in the capture of this post at the commencement of the war,—the public seemed to consider the holding of Ticonderoga a point of honor, and the expressions of vexation and disappointment on its abandonment were loud and violent against the general who directed the retreat, as well as against the commander of the district, General Schuyler. A short time dispelled the heavy censure bestowed upon the general for this measure, the propriety of which was subsequently fully recognised, and approved. Though suspended from command, in consequence of this occurrence, he never quitted the army, but was with General Washington at the battle at Brandywine, on the 11th September, 1777. A general court martial acquitted him with the highest honor, and its decision was confirmed by congress in December, 1778.

The confidence of Washington appears never to have been withdrawn from him, and, upon the occasion of Sir Henry Clinton's movement from New York to Rhode Island, in 1780, with a large body of the British troops at that place, he selected General St. Clair as the officer to command the light infantry of the American army, usually under the orders of Lafayette, in an attack intended to have been made upon the city during the absence of the English commander. The unexpected return of Sir Henry prevented the attempt. Upon the movement to the south, to attack Cornwallis, the command

of the American army was to have been conferred on him, General Washington designing to take, *formally*, the command of the allied army upon himself. The apprehension entertained by congress that a blow might be struck at Philadelphia from New York, with the view to create a diversion in favor of the besieged at Yorktown, induced them to order him to remain near Philadelphia with the recruits of the Pennsylvania line, the great body of which had been marched off to Virginia, under the command of General Wayne. The pressing instances of General Washington, however, induced congress to revoke their order, and he was, after considerable delay, permitted to join the army before Yorktown, which he reached only five or six days before the capitulation. From thence he was sent with six regiments and ten pieces of artillery, to join the troops of General Greene in South Carolina, with directions to assail and reduce all the enemy's posts in North Carolina. They were abandoned, however, at his approach, and on the 27th December, 1781, he joined General Greene at Jacksonburg.

After the peace, General ST. CLAIR resided in Pennsylvania, and in 1786 was a member of congress from that state, and the president of that body in 1787. Upon the erection of the north-western territory into a government, he was appointed governor, an office which he accepted, notwithstanding the reluctance he felt to take upon himself such duties,—his friends saw in this new government the means of fortune; but they placed reliance, perhaps, upon the exercise of a prudence which was foreign to the character of the individual for whom they were interested, and his own view of the matter, "that it was the most imprudent act of his life," seems to have been the most correct. To accept the office, it was necessary to resign the office of auctioneer of the city of Philadelphia, one of the most lucrative in the state, and at the end of about fourteen years of fatigue, privation, and danger, the worldly prospects of the subject of this notice were any thing but bright: he had, to use again his own words, "from long absence, lost all that influence at home which had once been considerable, and had ruined himself in the public service abroad." He was appointed in 1788, and continued in office till 1802, when, upon the erection of Ohio into a state, he declined being a candidate for governor.

We approach the unfortunate period of General ST. CLAIR's career. He was appointed to the command of the forces to be employed against the Indians after Harmar's defeat, and marched to the Miami villages, near which he encamped on the 3d of November, 1791. The army consisted of about fourteen hundred men, the first regiment having

been detached to cover a convoy of provisions, supposed to be in danger from a body of Kentucky militia which had deserted, and to prevent further desertions.

The Indians attacked the army on the 4th of November, about half an hour before sunrise, and in a few minutes it was surrounded by them. The attack commenced upon the militia, then in advance, who broke and fled through the main body, after firing a few shots. This circumstance threw the troops into some confusion, from which they never entirely recovered during the action, which lasted about four hours. Portions of the army behaved well, and several charges were made with the bayonet, which caused the enemy to give way, but no permanent good effect was produced; and in spite of the active and intrepid conduct of the officers generally, and the cool and deliberate bravery of the commander in chief, who was in very feeble health, and who had eight balls through his clothes, the troops commenced a very disorderly retreat, during which their officers lost all control over them, and which was not arrested until they reached fort Washington. The loss was thirty-eight officers and five hundred and ninety-three men killed; and twenty-one officers and two hundred and forty-two men wounded: among the slain, were Major Ferguson and General Butler.

The last years of a long life were spent in claiming from congress a settlement and payment of various claims, and he had, perhaps, reason to complain of the treatment received at the hands of his country. Be the merits of the decision made in his case what they may, the penniless general submitted. He died at Laurel Hill, near Philadelphia, August 31st, 1818, aged eighty-four.

LACHLIN M'INTOSH.

Major-General Lachlin M'Intosh was born at Borlam, not far from Inverness, in Scotland, in the year 1727. He was the second son of John More M'Intosh, who was the head of the Borlam branch of the clan M'Intosh. The kindred houses of Moy and Borlam had been the chiefs of the warlike clan "Chatan" for many ages; they had mingled in all the feuds that divided Scotland for centuries, and though not decorated with courtly titles, claimed for themselves a distinction in the ancient wars of their country, beyond all others of the northern clans. But the glory of the house of Borlam was destined to sink in the Rebellion of 1715. John More M'Intosh, the father of General Lachlin M'Intosh, was born in the year 1701. He was not fourteen years old at the period of the Rebellion, and was therefore too young to command his clan in battle; but his uncle, William M'Intosh, had gained experience and acquired renown in foreign service, and as he then administered the affairs of his nephew, he led that portion of the clan M'Intosh that were immediately connected with the house of Borlam, to join the Pretender of that day, who made him a brigadier general. William M'Intosh crossed the frith of Forth in open boats at night, surprised and defeated the English near Edinburgh. He distinguished himself during the whole contest; but when finally the collected forces of the Pretender were assembled at Preston, they were surrounded, and he was taken prisoner. His fall brought down ruin upon his nephew and the house of Borlam. The property of his family was confiscated; too young himself to suffer in person, he was stripped of every thing, and, from having been rich, became poor From that memorable time to 1736, John More M'Intosh lingered in obscurity upon what had been his own property. He married, however, and had several children, naming his eldest son William after his unhappy uncle, then a prisoner in the Tower; and his second son, Lachlin, after his own father, who had died a few years before the

Rebellion of 1715. It is not to be wondered then that the invitation of General Oglethorpe (who was himself more than suspected of participating in the political feelings of the family) to emigrate to America, should have been welcomed at Inverness by one then living in poverty, but who had not forgotten that the time was when the sound of his own bugle would have rallied a thousand kinsmen around him for war—to the knife.

John M'Intosh, with his family, and one hundred and thirty Highlanders who followed his fortunes, arrived in Georgia with General Oglethorpe, in the month of February, in the year 1736, and was immediately settled upon the Altamaha, at a point which they named New Inverness, now Darien. General Oglethorpe had, three years before this time, purchased land of the Creek Indians, and planted a small colony at Savannah, upon the Savannah river, to be a chain of connection with Carolina. The eastern costume of the highland clansman, his cap and plume, his kilt and plaid, soon became very dear to the red man of the woods: they mingled together in their sports, they hunted the buffalo together, for the woods of Georgia were then as full of buffalo as the plains of Missouri now are; and the writer of this notice was told when a boy, by General Lachlin M'Intosh, that when a youth, he had seen ten thousand buffalo within ten miles of Inverness.

But new misfortunes now awaited the M'Intosh family. John More M'Intosh had first been appointed the civil commandant of New Inverness, and after General Oglethorpe had been authorized to raise a regiment, he was instructed to enrol a hundred of his Highlanders, who were to constitute the light infantry of the regiment.

General Oglethorpe advanced in 1740 to the invasion of Florida, through the rivers that constitute the inland navigation of this country, and took post upon an island opposite St. Augustine. Captain M'Intosh, with his Highlanders and a few auxiliary Indians, marched by land. Upon reaching within a few miles of St. Augustine, he was joined by some militia from Carolina, and placed under the command of Colonel Palmer of that state. From his superior officer undervaluing the Spaniards, or not being aware of their numbers, he allowed himself to be surprised at fort Moosa, within four miles of the Spanish fort, by almost the whole Spanish garrison. There were many breaches in the walls of fort Moosa, and the first notice that Captain M'Intosh had of the advance of the Spaniards, was the rush of a regiment of Spanish grenadiers through these breaches. His Highlanders rallied around him, but himself and thirty-six of his men fell wounded

or dead at the first charge. This surprise, in truth, led to the failure of Oglethorpe's expedition. Oglethorpe had no officer to exchange for Captain M'Intosh; the Spaniards, therefore, sent him a prisoner to Old Spain, where he was detained several years from his family: nor did he return to them, but with a broken constitution, soon to die, leaving his children to such destiny as might await them, without friends, in the wilds of America: for their only friend, General Oglethorpe, was soon to be recalled in preparation to meet the Rebellion of 1745, when he too was doomed to suffer degradation from the duke of Cumberland, and injury to his military reputation.

Lachlin M'Intosh was thirteen years of age, when his father was wounded and taken prisoner at St. Augustine. General Oglethorpe, upon his return, placed his elder brother and himself in his regiment as cadets, and would no doubt, in due season, have procured commissions for them; but just as he was himself leaving Georgia to meet rumors of the invasion of England by the Pretender, the two young brothers were found hid away in the hold of another vessel; for they too had heard the rumors of another attempt of the ancient house of Stuart to vindicate their rights against the Brunswick family, and were anxious to regain or perish in the attempt of reëstablishing their own house. General Oglethorpe sent for the two young lads into his own cabin; he spoke to them of the friendship he entertained for their father, of the kindness he entertained for themselves, of the hopelessness of every attempt of the house of Stuart, of their own folly in engaging in this wild and desperate struggle, of his own duty as an officer of the house of Brunswick; but if they would go ashore, be hereafter quiet, and keep their own secret, he would forget all that had passed;—he received their pledge, and they never again saw him.

The means of education in Georgia at that period, as may well be supposed, were very limited, yet Lachlin M'Intosh and his brothers were well instructed in English under their mother's care, and after they were received under the patronage of General Oglethorpe, were instructed in mathematics, and other branches necessary for their future military course. But when General Oglethorpe left Georgia, all hope, and perhaps all wish, for remaining longer attached to his regiment, ceased in the young men. William became an active and successful agriculturist, and Lachlin, in search of a wider field of enterprise, went to Charleston in South Carolina, where his father's gallantry, and his father's misfortunes, drew upon him the attentions of many; and his fine and manly appearance, his calm, firm temper, his acquirements for his opportunity, procured for him first the ac-

quaintance, and then the warm friendship, of Henry Laurens, the most distinguished and most respectable merchant at that time in Charleston, afterwards president of congress, and first minister from the United States to Holland. Mr. Laurens took the young M'Intosh into his counting-house and into his family, and with him he remained some years. In association with this enlightened and respectable gentleman, Mr. M'Intosh had an opportunity of studying men and books, and of filling up the blanks in his education. From some repugnance to commerce, arising probably from his early military propensities, he did not adopt the pursuit of his friend and patron, but after spending some years in Charleston, he returned to his friends still residing on the Altamaha; where he married and engaged in the profession of a general land surveyor. His talents particularly qualified him for this course, as well by his education, as by his disposition, and therefore he soon obtained independence and the promise of fortune, in the acquirement of extensive bodies of what were then deemed valuable lands. But when he had been engaged for some years in these pursuits, Georgia became involved in a dispute with Carolina about the right of soil of the lands between the Altamaha and St. Mary's rivers. The first charter of Georgia to the trustees, had taken out of the ancient limits of Carolina the territory between these two rivers; she still claimed all that was beyond the Altamaha, therefore, as belonging to Carolina, and as the Indian claim to this land was extinguished, she gave grants to individuals for portions of the soil. Subsequent to that period, the chartered limits of Georgia had been extended to St. Mary's.

Governor Wright was a native of South Carolina, and had been attorney general of that province, before he was appointed governor of Georgia; he had both officially and personally differed with the higher authorities of South Carolina, and, in his administration of the government of Georgia, exhibited on every occasion great bitterness of feeling against his native province. Mr. M'Intosh, from his long residence in Charleston, and from his many friendships there, was the person to whom they looked, and with whom they advised, upon the many occasions in which they considered themselves unjustly treated. This circumstance was really the cause of, or afforded Governor Wright the pretence for, a long but deliberate opposition to the views and interests of Mr. M'Intosh: and thus was he gradually prepared and schooled by a petty persecution for the event that was approaching, long before the time had arrived for the separation of England and her American colonies.

Every eye in Georgia was turned to General M'Intosh, as the future leader of whatever force Georgia might bring to the struggle for independence; and although living in solitude, and at a distance from Savannah, which had then become the populous and important and wealthy portion of the province; yet the Elberts, the Habershams, and Harrises, of that day, gallant and good men, felt no reluctance in yielding to him the first rank. When, therefore, a revolutionary government was organized, and an order for raising a regiment in Georgia was adopted, Lachlin M'Intosh was made colonel commandant; and again, soon after, when the order was extended to four regiments, he was immediately appointed brigadier general commandant, to take rank from September, 1776.

But about this time, unhappily for Georgia, and unhappily for General M'Intosh, the enlightened and patriotic president of the council, Archibald Bulloch, died, and was succeeded by a disappointed, ambitious, and restless man. Button Gwinnett was placed at the head of the civil power.

Georgia was at the extremity of the colonies; her people were more divided in sentiment upon the subject of independence than in the older provinces, for she had passed the last from the bosom of the mother country, and, in the convulsive struggle of parties so equally divided, there was more of venom than elsewhere. Division of opinion soon began to show itself in the state administration. General M'Intosh had been bred in a soldier's tent; he had been taught in his youth that it was honorable and just, because it was necessary, to kill his enemy in the field, with arms in his hands; but he could not reconcile it to his feelings to hunt him down like the wolf of the woods, nor permit this to be done where he could prevent it. This desire on his part to repress unnecessary cruelty, or impolitic suspicion, soon led to some bickerings with the head of the civil government. Although he had brought his troops into good military discipline, and into a high state of military feeling; and although he had turned aside, without material injury to Georgia, a strong invading force from Florida, and was himself wounded on the occasion; although his brother, his nephews, and his sons, all held rank under him, and had gained praise at this early period, wherever opportunity had been afforded them; yet still there had been no great occasion to win renown for himself: the enemy was elsewhere engaged, and Georgia had temporary repose; and but for the unquiet man at the head of the government, would have had time to prepare and strengthen herself against the evil day that was to arrive. This man had ventured to offer himself to the com-

mand of the troops, in opposition to General M'Intosh, and was rejected; and when unhappily, upon the death of Mr. Bulloch, he succeeded to civil power, he intermeddled with the discipline of the troops, irritated the angry passions of the people, and finally pointed suspicion and instituted a cruel prosecution against an honorable gentleman, a near and dear relation of General M'Intosh. The elder brother of General M'Intosh, William, had been appointed to recruit and command a regiment of cavalry, and which he, in a great measure, armed and equipped at his own expense; but upon this attack of the civil power upon his relative, he indignantly threw up his command. General M'Intosh, more calm, waited until Gwinnett ceased to be governor, when he told him sternly his opinion of his actions. Gwinnett challenged him; they met with pistols at eight feet; both fired; both were wounded: Gwinnett mortally. But all feud did not die with him, and Georgia being free from foreign enemies, General M'Intosh applied through his friend, Colonel Henry Laurens, to be ordered to join the central army under General Washington. This was most readily granted, with permission to carry his staff with him. He soon won the confidence of the commander-in-chief, and was placed for a long time in his front, while watching the superior forces under General Howe in Philadelphia. He remained in this delicate and important position until his services were required elsewhere.

The Indians on the north-western frontier, from New York to Virginia, had been brought into action by England;—General Schuyler was doing all he could to mitigate the sufferings of the people to the west of New York, but on the Ohio there was no unity of action in defence. In this situation, and under these circumstances, congress instructed General Washington to indicate an officer to undertake the difficult command: there were no laurels to be gleaned in a defensive war in an Indian field, and congress could not spare men for an offensive war with Indians, when her capitals, Philadelphia and New York, were in quiet possession of the enemy. General Washington knew, by experience, what unwearied watchfulness was necessary, even for self-preservation, in a war of this kind; and the officer in command was to march with a few hundred men over the same hills, and through the same valleys, for the same point, where Braddock and his troops were met, and had been destroyed: he was to encounter the same ruthless enemy, with feeble means, in the infancy of American power, before whom, many years after, a Harmar and a St. Clair were to fall.

General Washington reluctantly called upon General M'Intosh to undertake this difficult and dangerous command: and it was only the deepest sense of public duty, and obedience to the will of the commander-in-chief, whom he revered as a soldier and loved as a man, that made him consent to accept it.

General M'Intosh was instructed by congress to take command of the western districts of Virginia and Pennsylvania. He marched with a reënforcement of five hundred men to fort Pitt. He marched in single files, cautiously examining every brake and thicket in the way. The Indians hovered around him continually; but such was his cautious advance in the day, and his watchfulness in the night, that they found no opportunity of attack. He united the jarring opinions of people in that quarter, and gave repose to western Virginia. Under his auspices, Colonel Clark took Lieut. Governor Hamilton, and carried terror into the most secret retreat of the Indians; and during the whole period of his command, he was preparing means for offensive war at more distant points, until the early part of the year 1779.

It will be remembered by many, that at no period of the revolutionary struggle, was there more actual danger to American liberty, than at this eventful time; for Lee, and Gates, and Conway, and others, had almost seduced congress itself from the love which was borne to the virtues, and the respect which was entertained for the profound and varied talents of their great chief; and congress had contracted a habit of arranging plans, and of fashioning them, too, without availing themselves of his mighty mind. Thus, a combined expedition to the south was arranged with Count d'Estaing, when there really were not troops enough in Charleston to insure its future defence. Congress engaged them in offensive operations in summer, without remembering that the night dews in September, in Georgia, brought death upon its wings to all who were subjected to its influence: nor did it occur to Count d'Estaing, in entering into this arrangement, that the 11th of September would be the hurricane season upon a coast which did not, for five hundred miles, afford a single port in which his fleet might enter, in the event of disaster.

General M'Intosh had completed, in the month of April, 1779, every preparation for a successful attack upon Detroit, when he was recalled by the anxieties of General Washington (who foresaw all the dangers of this attempt), to take part in this ill-omened expedition; and he carried from General Washington to congress the letter which follows:—

"May 11, 1779. Brigadier General M'Intosh will have the honor

of delivering you this. The war in Georgia, being the state to which he belongs, makes him desirous of serving in the southern army. I know not whether the arrangements congress have in contemplation may make it convenient to employ him there; but I take the liberty to recommend him as a gentleman, whose knowledge of service and of the country promises to make him useful. I beg leave to add, that General M'Intosh's conduct, while he acted immediately under my observation, was such as to acquire my esteem and confidence, and I have had no reason since to alter my good opinion of him."

General M'Intosh was deeply sensible of the difficulties, which the time, and the condition of the American troops, afforded to success; but was too much interested in his country, his family, and his friends, not to desire to mingle his efforts with theirs for deliverance, if deliverance were possible.

The British troops were in the quiet possession of Savannah, under General Provost, and had an imposing force threatening Charleston under Colonel Maitland.

When General M'Intosh joined General Lincoln in Charleston, they made every preparation that their feeble means afforded for the invasion of Georgia, whenever the French fleet should arrive on the coast. General M'Intosh marched to Augusta, and took command of the advance of the American troops. He proceeded from thence down to Savannah, which he reached about the 10th of September, cutting off some small British parties, and driving in all the British outposts;—in expectation of being joined by the French, he marched to Beauley, where they expected to effect a landing.

From the 12th to the 14th, the French were landing. On the 15th, General Lincoln joined. By a fatality, the British commandant had been apprised of the approach of the French fleet as early as the 3d of September; the despatched vessels from which had made their first appearance off Tybee island, instead of Charleston; and the British troops had been most diligently engaged in improving their fortifications from that time: still, upon the 15th and 16th, their works were incomplete, and not more than thirty or forty guns mounted; but what was more important still, Colonel Maitland, with the *élite* of the British troops, had not arrived from Carolina. General M'Intosh, who had learned all this, pressed for an immediate attack; but Count d'Estaing, the commanding officer, believed he was sure of his game, and would not listen to the proposition. He coolly summoned General Provost to surrender; General Provost demanded time for reflection and consultation, which was granted. Colonel Moncrief, the most distin-

guished engineer of his day, was engaged, with a thousand men, white and black, strengthening the British post. Colonel Maitland arrived on the night of the 17th, with eight hundred veterans, to man the works; and General Provost then sneeringly refused to surrender. What was practicable and easy on the 15th and 16th, became impossible on the 17th and 18th, when one hundred and fifty cannon had been mounted, and 2,800 veteran troops manned the trenches.

From that time to the 8th of October, the allied troops had been wasting away under the influence of climate; and Count d'Estaing became sensible that he could no longer trust his ships upon the open coast, exposed to tempest, and to the attack of the enemy. Stung with disappointment at reflections upon the past, he determined, before his retreat, to lead the American and French army to a desperate attack upon the British lines. At the rising of the sun on the 9th of October, the allied troops were led on by their officers: they succeeded in planting their standards on several points of the works; but the British cannon were pouring a fire upon their flanks that swept them off in masses. They were compelled at length to retire, leaving one thousand out of four thousand upon the field. The French troops and French fleet went to sea, and General Lincoln and General M'Intosh had to recoil upon Charleston, where they were soon themselves to be besieged by an overwhelming force under General Clinton; and where, after a long and gallant defence, and after doing all that human prudence and human courage could accomplish, they were compelled to surrender. General M'Intosh was detained for a long time a prisoner of war; and here, in a great measure, closes his military life, for he never again took any command.

When General M'Intosh was finally released, he retired with his family to Virginia, carrying with him the high testimonial that follows, from the officers that had served with him, and under him, at the siege of Charleston, belonging to the Virginia line; which constituted the most efficient part of the force of the southern army. This paper is in the form of a letter to Governor Jefferson:—

"*Haddrel's Point, January* 8, 1781.

"Sir,—The general and field officers whose names are subscribed, in behalf of themselves and the other officers of the Virginia line, take the liberty, through your excellency, to recommend Brigadier-General M'Intosh, of the continental army, to the particular notice of our state; and we request that himself and family may be entitled to lands, and every other emolument and advantage given for the encouragement of

officers, agreeable to the respective ranks that each of them held in the service, and to be considered every way in the same manner, as if he and they belonged to our line of the state of Virginia. We are induced to make this application in behalf of General M'Intosh, to show our esteem for him, as well as on account of the uncommon sufferings and sacrifices he has made in the service in behalf of this country, which deserve particular attention. This gentleman has, moreover, commanded part of our line with approbation, and the western part of our state for a considerable time, the good effects of which are still felt and acknowledged by our back inhabitants, some of whom are now here."

Signed by two general officers, sixteen field officers, and one hundred officers of lower grade.

General M'Intosh remained in Virginia with his family, until the British troops were driven from Savannah. When he returned to Georgia, he found his personal property had been all wasted, and his real estate diminished in value; and from that time to the close of his life, he lived in a great measure in retirement, and in some degree of poverty. His two gallant sons, William and Lachlin, that had followed him to the field, died at an early period of life, leaving no children behind them. His younger children had suffered much from his long absence in the public service, and all that now remain of them are four grand-daughters.

General M'Intosh died at Savannah in the year 1806, in the 79th year of his age. In his person he was tall: five feet, eleven inches; of athletic form and great activity. The writer of this memoir has heard his grandfather (the elder brother of General M'Intosh) say, that when a lad at New Inverness, there was not an Indian in all the tribes that could compete with him in the race: and he has heard his own father say, who first met General M'Intosh when twenty-five years of age, that he thought him the handsomest man he had ever seen. But times change, and men change with them. General M'Intosh in his old age, no more resembled Lachlin M'Intosh in his youth, than the trunk that has been reft by the lightning, and whose leaves have been scattered by the storm, resembles the tree that had once waved its green boughs on the hill. T. S.

DANIEL MORGAN.

General Daniel Morgan was born in the state of New Jersey, in the year 1736.* Of his early life, little is known; but as his family were poor, his education was confined to the ordinary branches taught in a country school. The enterprising character of his mind early developed itself; and at the age of seventeen, he left the humble roof of his parents, and sought to improve his fortune in the south. His first employment was that of a wagoner, for one of the wealthy planters in Frederick county, Virginia. In this situation he continued until after the unfortunate expedition of Braddock, in which he drove his own team, attached to the army. It was during this campaign, that, under the charge of contumacy to a British officer, he was tried and sentenced to receive five hundred lashes; he submitted to the sentence, though scarcely out of the age of boyhood, with that unyielding firmness, and indifference to bodily pain, which was his peculiar pride through life. In a few days after the infliction of this disgraceful and dreadful punishment, according to the account of his friend, the accomplished author of the "Southern Campaign," the officer became convinced of the injustice of the charge, and made an ample atonement to young Morgan, in the presence of the regiment.

During this disastrous campaign, Morgan gave the first evidence of those military qualifications, that twenty years afterward placed him at the head of the partisan officers of the revolution, and won for him a celebrity not surpassed by that of any leader of that glorious war. On the return of the army, he was soon noticed by the colonial government of Virginia, and received the commission of ensign in the English service. It was in this capacity, whilst carrying despatches to a frontier post, accompanied by two soldiers, that he was suddenly attacked by a large party of Indians, and received the only dangerous wound that was ever inflicted on his person, although from 1775 to

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* His father was a Welchman.

1781, he saw more service, and was more exposed, than any other individual of the American army. The two men who were with him were killed, at the first discharge; and he, in addition to several slight scratches, received a ball, which entering the back of his neck, came out through his left cheek, shattering his jaw in a shocking manner. He was mounted on a good horse; and as he fell, he had the presence of mind to maintain his balance, and to grasp firmly the neck of the animal. The savages, presuming he was mortally wounded, left him to be followed by one of their party only, and turned to scalp the two who had fallen. MORGAN, in the mean time, feeling certain that he was dying, was only anxious to get beyond the reach of his pursuer before he died, that he might prevent his body from being mangled. He urged his horse with his heels, and the noble animal escaped with him into the fort. The writer of this well remembers, when a boy, to have heard the subject of this sketch describe, in his own powerful and graphic style, the expression of the Indian's face, as he ran with open mouth and tomahawk in hand, by the side of the horse, expecting every moment to see his victim fall. But when the panting savage found the horse was fast leaving him behind, he threw his tomahawk without effect, and abandoned the pursuit with a yell of disappointment. MORGAN was taken from his horse, perfectly insensible; but with proper treatment, and after a confinement of six months in the hospital, he entirely recovered.

It was also during this campaign, that his acquaintance commenced with General, then Colonel Washington; and it was commenced under circumstances, that laid the foundation of that friendship that lasted through life, and gave to the father of his country that knowledge of the character and genius of MORGAN, which induced him at an after period to select him for those dangerous and important services which redounded so much to the credit of both.

From this period until 1774, nothing precise or distinct is known of General MORGAN, except that he was ever foremost in all the minor expeditions in defence of the Virginia frontier against the Indians. It is certain, however, he was much devoted to gambling and dissipation of every kind, and spent much of his time in scenes of turbulence and personal conflict; a village near his residence has been invested with a singular notoriety, from being the theatre of a great variety of these scenes. From the frequent fights of MORGAN and his party, it received the name of Battletown, which it retains to this day. The character of MORGAN, however, was not one that delighted in this kind of warfare, from love of broils; nor was he distinguished by any

thing like ferocity:—he was generous as he was brave, as forgiving as he was passionate. He, however, was extravagantly fond of frolic, and he never could resist a little playful mischief, whatever might be the consequence. When we take into consideration the times, the theatre, and the actors, it is not to be wondered that these jokes too often led to the most serious results. MORGAN was a giant in height, and of Herculean strength; single handed he never was opposed by that individual whom he did not conquer; he ranked among his companions as did the lion-hearted Richard with the knights before Acre; he would have sacrificed life for glory, and defeat was synonymous with disgrace. Tradition couples his name with a thousand acts of daring achievement, many of them no doubt much exaggerated; but beyond dispute, for physical power, and a chivalrous fondness for scenes of daring and danger, he was one of the most extraordinary men our country has ever produced.

But however much he may have been devoted to scenes of pleasure and dissipation, this taste did not become permanently fixed upon him, nor did he neglect his worldly affairs. Before the year 1774, he had accumulated a handsome estate, and owned one of the finest farms in the county of Frederick. In this year, he commanded a company in the expedition to the west, under Lord Dunmore, against the Indians, who were defeated; on the return march, at the mouth of Hockhocking, in Ohio, he heard of the first hostilities between the Bostonians and the English. As soon as his party reached Winchester, they dissolved the corps, and passed resolutions pledging themselves to aid their brethren of Boston, should the crisis arrive. Immediately after the battle of Lexington, he was appointed a captain by congress, and requested to raise a company. Such was his military popularity, that in less than a week, ninety-six men enrolled themselves under his command, and formed the nucleus of the celebrated rifle corps, which became so distinguished throughout the war. With this party he set out for Boston which he reached in fifteen days. After remaining a few weeks before Boston, inactive, he was detached, at his own request, at the head of three rifle companies, to Quebec. He was placed under the orders of General Arnold, and led the van in that celebrated march through the woods.

After manœuvring for some days before Quebec, which they reached in a suffering condition, General Montgomery arrived, and the attack was decided upon. MORGAN led the forlorn hope, under the orders of Arnold, who, being badly wounded in the leg, in the commencement of the attack, was carried from the field. MORGAN then

succeeded to the command; for, although there were three field officers present, they magnanimously insisted upon waiving their rank, on account of their total inexperience. He had to attack a two-gun battery, supported by fifty men, under Captain M'Leod. The first gun missed them, the second flashed; when he ordered the ladders to be placed, he was the first to mount, and leaped into the town in the midst of M'Leod's men, who, after a faint resistance, fled into a house adjoining the platform. The late Colonel Charles Porterfield, then a cadet, followed next, and the whole corps, inspired by this act of daring courage, lost not a moment in sustaining their leader. The English soldiers were panic-struck, the battery was carried in a few minutes; the sally-port through the barrier was left open, and the people came running from all directions, and gave themselves up. At the barrier-gate he received orders to wait for General Montgomery; not satisfied, he called a council of war, when he was overruled by his officers. MORGAN considered the order a fatal one; and he always felt convinced, that had he consulted his own judgment, he would have taken the garrison. He acquiesced, however; the enemy had time to rally and recover from their panic, and the news of the death of the gallant Montgomery changed the fate of the day. MORGAN, with his gallant band, fought to desperation, until, overwhelmed by numbers, they became prisoners of war. Whilst a prisoner, he was importuned to accept the commission of colonel, in the British army; he indignantly rejected the insulting offer.

On his exchange, he received the appointment of colonel in the continental army, and was placed at the head of the partisan rifle corps, which Washington considered his right arm throughout the war. Although the services of this corps were considered by him as all-important to his own army, he was compelled, by the fall of Ticonderoga, and the rapid approach of Burgoyne, to deprive himself of them. MORGAN was detached to the assistance of Gates. The conspicuous part he took on that occasion, which principally contributed to the surrender of the British general, and the glorious victory of Saratoga,* are matters of public history, although Gates shamefully omitted to do him justice at the time. The reason of this conduct on the part of Gates, was MORGAN'S refusal to countenance the pretensions of this general to supersede Washington. A reconciliation

* The English account of the battle gives the principal credit of the victory to MORGAN.

afterward took place between MORGAN and Gates; and the latter, on every subsequent occasion, attempted to make amends for his injustice. The legislature of Virginia passed a resolution presenting MORGAN with a horse, pistols, and a sword; and his neighbors in Frederick named his elegant plantation "Saratoga," in honor of the brilliant share he had in that battle.

In a rapid sketch like this, it is impossible to trace its subject through all those minor but useful scenes, in which he was constantly engaged, and which gained for him a reputation unequalled by that of any officer of his grade. Those can only be touched upon which had a prominent effect upon his reputation. The great closing scene of the military career of MORGAN need only be mentioned, as it forms one of the most glorious pages of American history, and as every writer has done him full justice—we allude to the battle of the Cowpens. Some points of his early life, and his participation in the affair of Quebec, have been given more at length, because they were not as generally known. But the defeat of Tarleton is a different matter. Notwithstanding the injury Gates had inflicted on him in the affair of Saratoga, MORGAN agreed to join him in the south, having been promoted to the rank of brigadier-general; but before he could join the southern army, Gates had been defeated at the disastrous battle of Camden.

Tarleton, the most unrelenting, daring, and prompt officer in the British service, was detached in pursuit of MORGAN, with superior force. The American general, unaccustomed to fly, determined, as soon as he understood the wishes of Tarleton, not to delay the meeting. The ground where he gave battle is said to have been unfavorable; but having selected it, his arrangements were masterly, and such as, with the judicious coöperation of his gallant officers, Washington, Howard, and Pickens, to insure a glorious victory. The American general took nearly as many prisoners as he had men of his own; and congress testified the high sense they entertained of this brilliant action, by presenting him with a gold medal; Colonels Washington and Howard were highly distinguished on the same occasion, and received silver medals for the important and gallant share they had in the affair; Colonel Pickens was honored by a sword and pair of pistols.

It has been stated that a coolness took place between Greene and MORGAN, in consequence of a difference of opinion as to the mode of securing the prisoners taken in this battle; some excitement may have existed, as General Henry Lee seems to sanction such an opinion, in

consequence of MORGAN's refusal to remain in the army of the south, to take charge of the light corps which was interposed between the retreating army of Greene and the advancing force of Cornwallis. But this feeling must have been momentary: he recommended his chivalrous friend, General Otho Williams, for this important command, and left the army in consequence of the infirm state of his health from previous unexampled exposure and fatigue.

He retired to his seat in Frederick county, where he was confined to bed for many months with a severe rheumatic affliction.

Of the warm friendship which subsisted between Greene and MORGAN during life, the letters in the possession of their descendants, give ample proof. The following extract from one dated August 26, 1781, may suffice:

"DEAR MORGAN,

"Your letter of the 24th June arrived safe at head-quarters; and your compliments to Williams, Washington, and Lee, have been properly distributed. Nothing would have given me greater pleasure than to have had you with me. The people of this country *adore* you. Had you been with me a few weeks past, you would have had it in your power to give the world the pleasure of reading a second Cowpen affair; General Sumpter had the command, but the event did not answer my expectations.

"* * * * * The expedition ought to have realized us six-hundred men, and the chances were more than fifty times as much in our favor than they were at Tarleton's defeat. Great generals are scarce; there are few Morgans to be found. The ladies toast you."

At the end of the war, General MORGAN retired to his estate of Saratoga, and devoted himself to agricultural pursuits with much success. In 1791, General Washington was desirous that he should be placed at the head of the expedition against the Indians; MORGAN was willing, but finding a strong party in and out of congress in favor of the accomplished, gallant, but unfortunate St. Clair, he withdrew his pretensions.

In the expedition against the insurgents in Western Pennsylvania, in 1794, he commanded the army which remained in the west for some months, to suppress any lingering feelings of insurrection which might still exist. The consummate skill with which he executed his delicate task, proved that his talents as a statesman were of a high order. On his return home, he was elected to congress; but after

serving two sessions, his debilitated constitution forced him to retire from public life. In 1800, he removed to Winchester, where, after a confinement from extreme debility of nearly two years, he expired on the 6th day of July, 1802. His honorable widow removed to Pittsburgh, the residence of her eldest daughter, and survived him fourteen years.

General MORGAN had two daughters, both married to officers of the revolution. The eldest to the late General Presly Neville, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and the youngest to Major Heard, of New Jersey.

The character of MORGAN has not generally been properly understood or appreciated; he has been classed with those who were only distinguished by a fool-hardy bravery, and contempt of danger; a kind of Ajax, who arrogated every thing to arms, and thought lightly of intellectual acquirements.

This idea is most erroneous: had the subject of this sketch enjoyed the advantages of an early and good education, few men would have been more distinguished. He possessed an acute and discriminating mind, a great knowledge of human nature, and a wit that made him the delight of his companions. He had a peculiar talent of seizing upon the ridiculous; and the *bon mots* and anecdotes of MORGAN, are retailed by the third generation of his neighborhood. But thrown, in early life, amidst frontier scenes of danger and exposure, with giant size, and physical powers seldom equalled, it was natural that mental cultivation should be much neglected; but when arrived at the meridian of life, MORGAN became much devoted to study: his knowledge of history was extensive, and his style of writing as exhibited in his correspondence, although inaccurate, evinced much vigor and originality of thought. In his early private life, he sought the excitement produced by danger and exposure; he was a perfect stranger to fear.

In his military career, he was discreet and cautious; although he performed more active duty than most officers of the revolution, he never struck a blow until his acute observation assured him it would be efficient. Washington and Greene considered him as possessing military genius seldom surpassed; and if any further proof of this fact be required, it may be found in the action of the Cowpens, the most brilliant affair of the whole southern war, where, upon disadvantageous ground, and with far inferior force, he defeated the most celebrated partizan officer of the enemy, at the head of a select force of the English army. In short, no officer rendered more efficient aid to the cause of his country; and he well merited the character given him by

one of the strongest writers of the United States, who, in a late work, eloquently apostrophizes him as the "Hero of Quebec, of Saratoga, and the Cowpens; the bravest among the brave; and the Ney of the west." M. N.

The following note from Colonel Trumbull, will illustrate the peculiar costume of the portrait we have selected of General MORGAN, for the purpose of preserving an interesting relic of the revolution.

SIR,

You expressed an apprehension, that the rifle-dress of General MORGAN may be mistaken hereafter for a wagoner's frock, which he, perhaps, were when on the expedition with General Braddock; there is no more resemblance between the two dresses, than between a cloak and a coat; the wagoner's frock was intended, as the present cartman's, to cover and protect their other clothes, and is merely a long coarse shirt reaching below the knee; the dress of the Virginia rifle-men who came to Cambridge in 1775, (among whom was MORGAN,) was an elegant loose dress reaching to the middle of the thigh, ornamented with fringes in various parts, and meeting the pantaloons of the same material and color, fringed and ornamented in a corresponding style. The officers wore the usual crimson sash over this, and around the waist, the straps, belts, &c., were black, forming, in my opinion, a very picturesque and elegant, as well as useful dress. It cost a trifle; the soldier could wash it at any brook he passed; and however worn and ragged and dirty his other clothing might be, when this was thrown over it, he was in elegant uniform.

I remember to have seen in Connecticut a regiment of militia drawn up for review, of which the battalion companies had adopted this rifle-dress of white linen with black straps and hats. A grenadier company had been selected of the tallest and finest men, and dressed at considerable expense in a handsome uniform of blue coats and scarlet under-dress. I first saw the regiment at the distance of half a mile; the grenadiers appeared small, and the rest of the regiment seemed grenadiers; the cause is obvious — the rifle-dress is loose, and the sleeves above the elbow loose like the ladies' dresses of the present day, and the figure of course appears larger than if dressed in a coat with tight sleeves and body; besides which, opticians teach us that white objects always seem larger than objects of the same size, but of any other color. J. T

FRANCIS MARION.

THE vast extent of our territory, its geographical and political divisions, and the particular interests, partialities, and prejudices, engendered by our "sovereign state" system, have rendered our duties in the conduct of this work much more delicate and difficult than the mere labor of collecting and arranging the materials after we have decided on the subjects. There are many names, "familiar to our ear as household words," to which the honor of a station in the National Portrait Gallery is willingly conceded every where; but there have been others richly deserving of their country's respect and gratitude,—and, indeed, the number is greater than we had ourselves supposed,—who, not having had the advantage of contemporaneous biographers, and of eminent artists, to give a current value to their well earned fame, have passed away, and are now scarcely remembered beyond the limits of their own state,—the merit of their services forgotten or ascribed to others,—and when their names occur in the general history of their time, they are passed over unobserved, leaving no impression of individual worth.

We have had frequent opportunities to observe with deep regret, that even the names of some most valuable men,—*names most sincerely cherished in some sections* of our country,—are almost *unknown in others*. We state it as a fact; and if it contain reproach, we will do our best to wipe it away.

To many of the partisan leaders in the southern campaigns of the revolution, these remarks are peculiarly applicable. It is true the name of MARION has enjoyed extensive fame; the amusing pages of Weems, the sketch of his life by James, the anecdotes of Major Garden, the ponderous quartoes of Judge Johnson, and the Memoirs of Lieutenant Colonel Lee, have guarded his reputation from neglect: but of many others, the only records are some slight notices in a biographical dictionary, an epitaph, the occasional recurrence of a vote of thanks, or a respectful notice in the general orders of a commander-in-chief.

With these remarks by way of introduction, we will now proceed with our sketch of MARION, as the chief of a group; and afterward rally around him the shades of the heroes who were his comrades in danger, and are worthy to share his glory.

The grandfather of FRANCIS MARION was born in France, and was among the earliest emigrants who sought in Carolina a shelter from the persecuting and sanguinary spirit which desolated the homes of the Huguenots after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

He settled on Cooper River, where, by the labor of his own hands and the assistance of an industrious wife, he soon gathered around him the comforts of an unambitious life. His son, Gabriel, was the father of one daughter and five sons, of whom FRANCIS, the subject of this brief notice, was the youngest. He was born at Winyaw, near Georgetown, South Carolina, in 1732, the same auspicious year which gave birth to Washington and many other distinguished patriots. In the early state of our country, men were too much employed in the arts of husbandry, to attend much to science. It was, indeed, in that section of the country, impossible to obtain more than a plain English education. The wealthy planters of the south sent their sons to Europe, but MARION had not that advantage.

He early evinced an inclination for a sea-faring life, and at the age of sixteen made a voyage to the West Indies. The schooner in which he had embarked, foundered at sea; and the crew, consisting of six persons, took to the boat without water or provisions. They existed six days on the flesh of a dog: on the seventh, MARION and three of the crew reached land, the captain and mate, frantic from suffering, had leaped overboard and perished.

Young MARION now listened to the entreaties of his mother, abandoned the sea, and engaged in the labors of agriculture.

After the death of his father, about the year 1758, he removed to St. John's, and settled at a place called Pond Bluff, about four miles from Eutaw, on the Santee.

The next year he turned out as a volunteer in his brother's troop of provincial cavalry, on an expedition against the Cherokee Indians, which was soon terminated. He served as Lieutenant in Captain William Moultrie's company in the war with the Indians, in 1761, and distinguished himself as "an active, brave, and hardy soldier, and an excellent partisan officer."

In the beginning of the year 1775, he was elected to the provincial congress of South Carolina, from St. John's. In May of the same year, intelligence of the battle of Lexington reached this body, having

in passing from east to south, like the fiery cross of the ancient Gael, lighted up a flame of war which was not to be easily extinguished. Many of the South Carolinians came forward with promptness to enrol themselves in the cause of their country, among whom MARION was ambitious to be one of the first. It was resolved to raise two regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry. MARION was elected captain in the second regiment, under the command of Colonel Moultrie.

During the attack made by the British fleet on Sullivan's island, MARION, who had previously risen to the rank of major, bore a conspicuous part. For this action, Colonel Moultrie was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, and MARION rose to the grade of lieutenant-colonel. He remained with his regiment in garrison at fort Moultrie until the arrival of General Provost before Charleston, in May 1779; he was then ordered to the command of the left redoubt.

On the arrival of Count D'Estaing, MARION, with the gallant second regiment of South Carolina, joined General Lincoln before Savannah. The united French and American forces, after a siege of three weeks, assaulted the works and suffered a repulse with immense loss. D'Estaing hurried on board of his ship with his troops and artillery, and Lincoln retired towards Carolina.

At the siege and capture of Charleston, in 1780, MARION was prevented by an accident from acting with his gallant associates in the defence of the capitol. A few days before the siege, MARION and a large party dined at the house of a friend, who, after dinner, turned the key upon his guests that none of them might retreat from his hospitality, but MARION, who was opposed to the excesses of conviviality, in attempting to make his escape by a window, fell into the street and dislocated his ancle. As a non-effective, he retired from the city; and thus he was preserved to his country, when Lincoln capitulated.

Before he had entirely recovered the use of his limb, MARION made his way through North Carolina into Virginia. There he met General Gates with an army advancing to the assistance of the south. Having no command, he was invited into the family of the Baron De Kalb, as an assistant aid; but on arriving in the neighborhood of Camden, where Cornwallis then had his head quarters, he was despatched in company with Major Horry to break down the bridges in the rear of Cornwallis—so confident was Gates, that in the approaching battle he would drive the enemy off the field. The fatal battle of Camden, in which the brave De Kalb and the flower of his army were sacrificed, once more left South Carolina in possession of the British,

with MARION, Horry, and only *thirty men* to oppose their victorious and disciplined hosts.

On hearing the result of the battle of Camden, MARION collected his little band of patriots around him, and, after an address, asked them whether they would follow his fortunes. Having received an enthusiastic answer in the affirmative, they formed a circle, and took an oath never to serve a tyrant, or be the slaves of Great Britain, and to fight to the last for liberty.

With his few followers he directed his course towards the enemy. He soon fell in with a British escort of ninety men, three times his own number, with two hundred prisoners. Not having been discovered by the enemy, he concealed his men in contiguous swamps till the escort had passed, and after dark continued the pursuit. Towards morning he came upon them by surprise, and was successful in capturing the whole party, and liberating the captives, after killing only three of the enemy.

A few hours subsequent to this affair, MARION was informed that the tories were mustering strong in his neighborhood, with a design to fall upon him. He instantly pushed for their rendezvous, broke in upon them, and of forty-nine men, took thirty prisoners, with the arms, ammunition, and horses of the whole party, without losing a man.

The rumors of these successes, small as they may appear, had a very great effect. The British and tories were enraged at the insults daily offered by a mere handful of militia, who were actually carrying on the war against a force sufficient in number to overwhelm them in an instant, but whose vigilance, activity, local knowledge, and daring courage, gave them advantages which kept their enemies in constant apprehension, and their friends in hope. The little party under the command of MARION received frequent accessions from the resolute and decided whigs, and by the end of August, 1780, he mustered one hundred and fifty men.

About this time MARION received the commission of brigadier-general from Governor Rutledge, and was invested with the command of the military district extending from Charleston to Camden, and along the coast eastward to Georgetown. Whoever joined his standard were volunteers from principle, as they knew they must serve without pay, and provide for every want by active service and unceasing enterprise; but the confidence of the patriots in MARION was unbounded, and the course of the British commander left them no alternative but abject submission, with the additional degradation of being compelled to bear arms against their country. Many had

submitted under the impression that they would be allowed to remain quietly at home, and in the undisturbed possession of their property; but their error was soon dissipated by Cornwallis, who issued orders that all who had taken part in the opposition to England, should be punished with the greatest rigor, and their property be confiscated. The British commander also ordered in the most positive manner, that every militia-man who had borne arms as a loyalist and had afterward joined the patriots should be immediately hanged, and these orders were executed as ordained with the utmost severity. The work of desolation and death proceeded with relentless fury, humanity seemed an outcast from men's bosoms, and cruelty and revenge made fearful havoc of the property of the unfortunate Carolinians. But MARION and a few stout hearts still kept the field, and the unrestrained barbarity of the British soldiery and tories did more to confirm the whigs in their principles, and determine them on resistance unto death, than any other means that could have been adopted by friends or foes.

Without a force to support him in face of an advancing and powerful army, he was obliged frequently to seek security in concealment; and by stratagem, to supply the place of strength—to be always on the alert, striking when least expected, and rapidly retiring to a distance when prudence required a retreat. Thus he acted on the 27th of August, when his whole force, as we have stated, amounted only to one hundred and fifty men, he received information that Major Wemyss, at the head of the 63d regiment and a body of tories, were advancing upon him. He retired over the Pedee, and retreated to North Carolina, and encamped near the head of the Waccamaw; where he remained waiting intelligence from Major James, whom he had detached with a small reconnoitering party to South Carolina.

In a few days this party rejoined their chief, with the information that the country through which Wemyss had marched, exhibited one continued scene of desolation. On most of the plantations every house had been burnt to the ground, the cattle killed, the negroes carried off, and all the provisions destroyed. But these deeds of wanton cruelty had roused the militia, who were reported to be ready to join the general whenever he should appear among them.

Accordingly, MARION returned to South Carolina by forced marches. On the second day he traversed sixty miles, and, arriving near Lynch's creek, was joined by a considerable force. Here he was informed that a party of tories lay about fifteen miles below, and although he might very soon have been reinforced, he yielded to the wishes of his men, and determined on an attack. The tories

were posted at Shepherd's ferry, on the south side of the Black Mingo, a deep navigable creek, and had the command of the passage. At midnight he crossed the bridge, expecting to take them by surprise, but found them drawn up in line and waiting his approach. He succeeded, however, in placing his enemy between two fires; and after a few rounds, they broke and fled, leaving about a third of their number upon the field.

As many of his party had left their families in much distress, the general gave them leave of absence for a time, and appointed Snow's island on the Pedee as the place of rendezvous, to which place he retired with a few men. So soon as the militia began to muster, the General prepared for action. Hearing that Colonel Tynes had summoned the people of Salem and the fork of Black river, to do duty as his majesty's subjects, he resolved to break up the party.

After a long ride, he came up with them just before day. The discharge of his musketry first broke their slumbers; in an instant his men were among them, and of the whole party, thirty-three were killed, forty-six made prisoners, and about sixty escaped. Colonel Tynes, with about one hundred horses and all his baggage, fell into the hands of General MARION. This affair was followed by several other advantages. In one rencounter twenty-four British dragoons fell under the sabres of his party, and on the next day as many more.

Cornwallis experienced great inconvenience as well as loss from these assaults, as they frequently prevented the supplies which were necessary for the support of his army; and the alarm which the exaggerated reports of MARION'S force spread through the country, deterred the loyalists from rising, and the recruits who had arrived from the north, from joining the corps in the country. Colonel Tarleton—whose character for activity and enterprise was unfortunately tarnished by many acts of cruelty, but who, for decision and rapidity of action, was more celebrated than any of the British officers in the south—was selected by Cornwallis for an expedition against General Marion. MARION was informed of Tarleton's approach, and that he was to cross the Santee at Nelson's ferry; he accordingly lay in wait for him a part of two days in the River swamp; but Tarleton had already passed. As soon as MARION was informed of this, he commenced his march in the same direction, and at night halted in a wood. The light from the burning houses of a neighboring plantation, indicated the presence of the vindictive foe; and he shortly after ascertained that the British force was at least double his own, with two field pieces, and a deserter for a guide. MARION immediately

retreated; and crossing the Woodyard, (then a dense swamp), in profound darkness, he passed Jack's creek, and rested for the night. As soon as Tarleton had received intelligence of General MARION'S position, he pursued to the Woodyard, but was unable to pass that night. The next morning MARION, knowing the vigilance of his foe, decamped betimes; and pursuing his route thirty-five miles through woods, and swamps and bogs where there was no road, encamped the following night on the east side of Black river, at Benbow's ferry, about ten miles above Kingstree. Here he had three difficult passes of swamps in his rear, to which he could fall back in case of need; and here he determined to defend himself. On the morning after the retreat, Tarleton pursued, as he says, "for seven hours, through swamps and defiles." He pursued, in fact, about twenty-five miles, but arriving at Ox swamp which was wide and miry, and without a road to pass it, he desisted, saying to his men, "Come, my boys! let us go back, and we will soon find the *game cock* (General Sumpter); but as for this d—d *old fox*, the devil himself could not catch him."

From Benbow's, MARION planned an expedition to Georgetown, since it was there only he could obtain a supply of ammunition, clothing, and salt, of which he was in great want. He crossed the Black river at Potato ferry, and took a position within three miles of Georgetown, and despatched small parties to reconnoitre on the different roads leading to the town. One of these parties unfortunately came in contact with a more numerous party of tories, and was compelled, after a short contest, to retreat. In this brief affair, Gabriel Marion, a nephew of the general, had his horse killed under him, and was taken prisoner; but as soon as his name was mentioned, he was immediately shot. He had been a lieutenant in the second regiment—was a young gentleman of good education and conduct, and was much beloved in the brigade. MARION mourned over him as a father over an only son; but recollecting that he had to set an example to others, he shortly after expressed his resolution, that as his nephew had lived a virtuous life and had fallen in the cause of his country, he would mourn over him no more.

The garrison in Georgetown being now on their guard, General MARION'S plan of surprising was frustrated; and he retired to Snow's island, at the confluence of Lynch's creek and the Pedee, which was afterward his usual place of encampment.

Reinforcements now came in to him daily, and his party began to assume the appearance of a brigade. While he lay here, a party was sent out under Lieutenant Gordon, to patrol on Lynch's creek; while

stopping at a house to take refreshments, they were surrounded by a party of tories, who set the house on fire. Gordon then capitulated on the promise of quarter; but no sooner had his party grounded their arms, than they were all put to death. Not long after, Colonel Kalb, and many others were murdered, with circumstances of still more atrocity. Henceforth there were few prisoners taken on either side. The scenes which ensued, are dreadful to contemplate. We must draw a veil over them, and refer our readers to the histories of the time for a picture of civil war with its most appalling horrors.

MARION was a humane man, and there were, probably, some such among the leaders opposed to him; but in both parties there were men who would not be controlled, and who were equally unrestrained by the laws of war or the claims of mercy. At the commencement of the year 1781, MARION was still engaged in collecting force, and securing his position at Snow's island.

General Greene had now command of the southern army, and his operations were well calculated to revive the drooping hopes of the country. About the middle of January, Colonel Lee with his legion, amounting to about two hundred and eighty men, horse and foot, joined the army; and these, being in excellent condition, were immediately ordered to cross the Pedee, to support MARION, who continued to harrass the enemy's posts. MARION and Lee very soon projected an enterprise against the garrison at Georgetown; but the object of the attack was only partially accomplished.

As the navigation of the Wateree was at this time imperfect, the British were obliged to have most of their stores of rum, salt, ammunition, and clothing transported by land across Nelson's ferry to Camden; and as the Americans were destitute of these articles, frequent conflicts took place upon that road to obtain them. These supplies were always attended by escorts, which seldom consisted of less than three or four hundred men. MARION and his men were regarded by the British and tories as very troublesome neighbors, and they determined to dislodge him. With this design, Colonel Watson, at the head of a British regiment and Harrison's regiment of tories, marched from fort Watson about the 1st of March; and Colonel Doyle, with another British regiment, approached by another route. MARION was soon informed by his scouts of the movement of Watson, and hastened to meet him. They first encountered at a swamp about midway between Nelson's and Murray's ferries; and although the strength of the British column supported by two field pieces, enabled it to force its passage, it suffered considerable loss, and the patriots

exhibited numerous examples of boldness and gallantry. At every favorable point the contest was renewed, and after several days of irregular skirmishing, Colonel Watson arrived at the lower bridge over Black river. Here MARION had anticipated him—the bridge was destroyed. The river, though deep, was fordable below the bridge, and here Watson attempted to pass under cover of his field pieces; but his artillerists were shot by the American marksmen, and all who approached the ford, were immediately cut down, nor were the dead and wounded removed from the places where they fell, till night. Watson posted himself a little further up the river in the most open place he could find, where he remained above a week, though constantly annoyed by his vigilant opponents. At length he decamped, and by forced marches, and a circuitous route through the most open country he could find, he made his way to Georgetown, MARION still hanging on his flanks and rear, until they arrived at the Sampit bridge, where the last skirmish took place.

In the mean time the intended mischief at Snow's island had been accomplished by Colonel Doyle. Colonel Irvin, who had been left there with a few men, had been obliged to retreat, after throwing all the stores, arms, and ammunition into the river.

Before MARION returned, Doyle had retreated towards Camden, and, by the celerity of his flight, escaped. At Georgetown, Watson was joined by Ganey with great numbers of tories; and MARION in his turn, was obliged to retreat for want of ammunition.

General Greene had now returned to North Carolina, the battle of Guilford had been fought, and the descent into South Carolina was determined on. Colonel Henry Lee was again sent with a detachment to the assistance of MARION; and about the middle of April, commenced a series of successful enterprises against the British posts. Fort Watson was taken by them on the 23d, Fort Motte on the 12th of May, and Georgetown on the 7th of June. The tide of prosperity had now turned, and the loyalists began to fear the vengeance which they well knew they deserved; but MARION, contented to subdue his enemies without bloodshed, if he could, negotiated a treaty with their most influential leader, Ganey, by which he secured their neutrality.

We must pass over a period of constant activity, until the 8th of September, when MARION commanded the front line of Greene's army, in the battle at Eutaw. In this battle, his marksmen did great execution, and behaved with their accustomed gallantry. General MARION's services in this action, received the particular acknowledgment of congress.

Before the end of the year, the enemy were driven from all their strong holds in the state, except Charleston.

At the commencement of 1782, MARION was elected to the senate of the state; and during his absence, his brigade suffered by the dissensions of his officers about rank, in consequence of which it dwindled away, divided, and was twice defeated.

MARION was much vexed at the disorder of his brigade, and again took the command in person, on the 24th of February, and in an encounter the next day, he had the mortification to witness the overthrow of his cavalry. In a short time his presence restored order and discipline, but there were no transactions of importance to require particular notice in this place. After the evacuation of Charleston, MARION assembled his brigade beneath the tall cedars in his favorite encampment at Watboo; and, after thanking his officers and men for their many and useful services, bade them an affectionate farewell.

His own plantation in St. John's had been subject to every species of waste and injury; and he was at the termination of his brilliant career—alone and poor. He afterward received the appointment of commander of Fort Johnson. But the most fortunate circumstance for the general, which took place at this juncture, was the favor bestowed on him by a lady. Miss Mary Videau, one of his relatives, was observed to be fond of hearing his praises; a friend mentioned it to MARION, who offered himself and was accepted. She brought him a handsome fortune at their marriage, and he resigned his station at the fort. He returned to his agricultural pursuits, improved his property, gave a hearty welcome and good cheer to his friends, and was hospitable to strangers.

In person General MARION was below the middle size, thin and swarthy. His nose was aquiline, his chin projecting; his forehead was high, and eyes dark and piercing. It is said his wife was the exact counterpart of himself. They had no children.

General MARION served in the convention which framed the constitution of the state, in 1790, after which he declined all public service. He died on the 27th of February, 1795.

We are sensible that in so brief a space as we are allowed in this work, we can but imperfectly convey our views of his high merit; but as an extended memoir of his life is now in preparation for the press, we trust that our readers will yet be furnished with a biography worthy of *the first partisan officer of his time.* J. H.

ANDREW PICKENS

Was born in Paxton township, Pennsylvania, on the 19th of September, 1739. He was of French descent, his ancestors having been driven from France by the revocation of the edict of Nantes. They first settled in Scotland, and afterwards in the north of Ireland. His father emigrated to Pennsylvania, and from thence removed with his family, while Andrew was very young, to Virginia, and settled for a few years, about eight miles west of where Stanton now stands. In the year 1752, his father removed from Augusta county, Virginia, and settled in the Waxhaws, South Carolina. His family were amongst the first settlers of that part of the state. As he was raised on the frontiers of a newly settled country, he was necessarily deprived of the advantages of a good education. He spent his youth in hunting and agriculture, the usual occupations of such a country. But endowed as he was by nature with uncommon sagacity and great decision of character, he soon attracted the confidence of all who knew him. He was rather above the middle height, very active, with a muscular frame, capable of enduring great fatigue; and there was no hardy enterprise of those days too daring to enlist his zeal and hearty coöperation.

Like many of our most distinguished officers of the revolution, he commenced his military services in the French war, which terminated 1763. It was during this war that he began to develop those qualities for which he was afterwards so eminently distinguished. In the year 1762, he served as a volunteer in a bloody but successful expedition under Lieutenant Colonel Grant, a British officer sent by General Amherst to command against the Cherokee Indians.

In 1761 the settlement made on Long Cane, in the western part of Carolina, was nearly exterminated by the Indians, and many of the inhabitants fled to the Waxhaws for protection, and amongst them was Ezekiel Calhoun and his family. It was Rebecca, the daughter of this gentleman, with whom young Pickens then became acquainted, and

afterwards married. She was the sister of John E. Calhoun, who died while a senator in congress.

Early in 1764, the subject of this biographical sketch removed to the Long Cane settlement, near where Abbeville C. H. is now situated.

He had a considerable family of small children, when the revolution, with all its additional horrors of civil war, commenced. At a very early period, he took a decided and active stand against the right claimed by Great Britain to tax her colonies without their consent. The section of country in which he lived was unfortunately much divided. And it was more so near him, in the section between Saluda and Broad rivers, where the majority were tories.

These circumstances made the struggle in the upper parts of South Carolina far more painful and destructive than it was in almost any other part of the confederacy. The bloody and midnight contests that arose between neighbors and acquaintances, even over their hearthstones and in the bosom of their families, were far more terrible than the conflagrations of a foreign foe; and nothing but the sternest patriotism and most undaunted courage could have borne up the whig cause against a murderous civil war at home, and the invasion of a relentless enemy from abroad.

At the very commencement of the revolution, ANDREW PICKENS raised a militia company, and was appointed the captain. The distinguished part which he acted throughout the struggle for independence, has been in general terms recorded by the historian, and the principal events can only be alluded to in the present sketch. His zeal, skill, and courage, were rewarded by his country in his being rapidly promoted to the respective commands of major, colonel, and brigadier general.

In the most despondent time, when South Carolina was overrun by the enemy, and suffered all the horrors of Indian and tory murders, he remained unshaken, and with Marion and Sumpter in different parts of the state, kept up the spirit of resistance. These three generals waged a guerrilla warfare by night and by day, fighting on the banks of this creek and on the banks of that river, over every inch of soil, in a manner that stands as yet unrivalled in the history of American chivalry and gallantry. This will more readily be admitted when we consider, that for the three years immediately preceding the battle of the Cowpens, during which period the American arms had met with a succession of defeats and disasters everywhere, these three state generals fought, with few or no resources save their own undying spirit and courage.

In addition to the common enemy, General PICKENS had to encounter the Indians, as his command lay in the upper and western sections of the state. He commanded in chief in an expedition against the Cherokees in 1782. As ammunition was scarce and not to be had, he invented a new mode of fighting savages. He had short sabres, made most of them by the common blacksmiths of the country, and mounted his men, armed with these cutlasses, on horseback. They penetrated the interior of the nation with such rapidity and boldness, that it struck universal terror amongst them. With fire and sword he destroyed in a few days their principal towns; and such was his success, that with a force of five hundred men he subdued the spirit of that powerful people, and laid the foundation of a peace so permanent that it has not been since disturbed.

At the commencement of the revolution, the council of safety thought proper to raise and officer two regiments in the western or upper parts of the state. The candidates for colonel of one of these regiments were Robert Cunningham, Mayson, and Moses Kirkland. Mayson got the commission, and the other two immediately became disgusted and turned tories. They, particularly the first, having extensive connexions and acquaintances, produced great dissensions. The consequence was that the tories, who had hitherto fought in detached parties, assembled in 1779 more than seven hundred men, under Colonel Boyd. The plan of operations was laid in New York by the British commander. When Savannah was taken, Colonel Gamble was advanced to Augusta. Boyd, who had just returned from New York, was to notify the disaffected and excite the tories in the western parts of North and South Carolina, and force his way to join Colonel Gamble at Augusta. Colonel Gamble immediately moved up Savannah river with several hundred mounted men, and after manœuvring in the neighborhood of where Petersburgh now stands, and Kerr's fort, in order to effect a junction with Boyd, he was compelled by the whigs to return. General PICKENS, who was then a colonel, with only three hundred and twenty men, after driving back Gamble, pursued Boyd, and forced him to cross the river, eighteen miles above the junction of Savannah and Broad rivers. He then crossed at their junction, and was joined by Colonel Dooly and Lieutenant Colonel Clarke, with about one hundred Georgians. Colonel Dooly, with great patriotism, gave the command of all the forces to him. They then pursued Boyd rapidly, who had taken a circuitous route through the Cherokee nation, until they overtook him in a few days, on the east banks of Kettle creek in Georgia, just as his men had shot down some beeves, and were pre-

paring their breakfast. Colonel PICKENS had divided his forces into three divisions, Colonel Dooly commanding the right, and Clarke the left, with directions to flank them, while he commanded the attack from the centre, with strict orders not to fire until within thirty-five paces of the enemy. Boyd was a brave, active man, but was shot down early in the action. After close fighting for half an hour, the whigs drove the enemy through the cane, over the creek. They fought with desperation, and left a great many dead and wounded upon the field. They then rallied on a rising ground on the west bank, and renewed the fight, the whigs finding great difficulties in pressing through the cane. However, the victory was complete. The whigs had four hundred and twenty, and the tories upwards of seven hundred; and out of that number, not more than three hundred ever reached Colonel Gamble in Augusta. This success was of far more importance than the numbers engaged would indicate. It broke up the tories throughout North Carolina, who never afterwards assembled except in small parties, or under the immediate protection of a foreign force. Although they were dreaded for their desperate and malignant outrages upon the country, yet they acted more for the plunder and murder of individuals than for concerted and manly warfare. This battle of Kettle creek, in 1779, was decisive of their fate. Colonel PICKENS, with many other whig officers of this section, had many desperate rencounters with detached parties of the disaffected, which, although developing much bravery and personal courage, are too numerous to be mentioned in this short sketch.

He was with General Lincoln at the battle of Stono, and had his horse killed under him while he was covering the retreat ordered by that general. He commanded the militia forces at the famous battle of the Cowpens. When all the circumstances are considered, this must be pronounced one of the most gallant and daring battles of the revolution. Two-thirds of the American forces were militia under his command. The continentals were under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Howard, and the cavalry under Colonel Washington, and all directed by the skill and bravery of Morgan. Tarleton, at the head of his mounted men, flushed with conquest, and arrogant with success, pressed on, expecting certain victory. General Morgan had been separated from the main army under General Greene, and Tarleton had been detached by Cornwallis to cut him off. South Carolina was literally overrun, and military garrisons had been regularly established at Camden, Granby, Ninety-Six, Augusta, and other places. Cornwallis and Tarleton were pressing, with superior forces, Greene and

Morgan into North Carolina. The Cowpens is in the upper edge of Spartanburgh district, and very near the North Carolina line. It was of vast importance that those under General Morgan should not be prevented in their retreat from effecting a junction with Greene, who was also pressed by the superior force of Cornwallis. Under these circumstances, General Morgan's opinion was against fighting at the Cowpens. Colonel PICKENS thought that something must be done, or the spirit of the country would be broken down, and South Carolina become a *permanent* and easy conquest. After a council of officers was held, the fight was determined on. The enemy were superior in numbers by two hundred. Colonel PICKENS formed his line about two hundred yards in advance of the second line, consisting of the light infantry and a corps of Virginia riflemen. The third line was formed from the cavalry with about fifty mounted militia men. Colonel PICKENS issued strict orders not to fire until the enemy were within forty yards, and when forced to retire, to form on the right of the second line. They were obeyed, and the fire was as destructive as it was unexpected. It checked the impetuosity of Tarleton for a few moments, when he encountered the second line; and the militia, to the astonishment of the enemy, fell back in good order, and rallied under their leader in proper time for the second onset. The second line were forced to give way, and fall back upon the cavalry; and while Tarleton was cutting down the militia, Colonel Washington made a successful charge upon him; and Howard, almost at the same moment, with his continentals, charged with fixed bayonets. "The example was instantly followed by the militia. Nothing could exceed the astonishment and confusion of the British, occasioned by these unexpected charges."* The victory was complete. This *was the first time* in the history of the country, that militia were rallied and brought in good order to the second fire and charge; and it is not detracting from any to say, that on that occasion, animated by the spirit and courage of their commander, they won at least an equal share of glory with the continentals. The 1st battalion of the 71st, and two British light infantry companies, laid down their arms to the American militia. Upwards of three hundred of the enemy were killed or wounded, and above five hundred were taken prisoners, with baggage, artillery waggons, horses, &c., &c. This victory had a tremendous effect upon the whole country, and was followed by a series of successes up to the victory of the Eutaws, and the capture of Cornwallis.

* Ramsay's History of the United States.

For his gallantry and bravery on that occasion, congress voted Colonel PICKENS a sword, and immediately afterwards he was appointed brigadier general. After this battle General Morgan joined General Greene, who was pursued by Cornwallis, and made one of the most skilful and fortunate retreats in the history of the country. The reason why General PICKENS happened not to be in the battle of Guilford C. H. was, that a few days before, the militia under his command from Georgia and South Carolina, and from Rowan and Mecklenberg counties in North Carolina, were offended in the affair of Whiteset's mills; and under the advice of Governor Rutledge, who had arrived in camp, he marched them back into South Carolina.

In the meantime, however, General PICKENS and Lieutenant Colonel Lee had been detached in pursuit of Tarleton in North Carolina, who was exciting the loyalists. Three hundred and fifty of the tories fell in with General PICKENS and Colonel Lee, under an impression that they were Tarleton's men, and while crying "God save the king," they were cut to pieces.

He immediately returned and laid siege to Augusta, then in possession of the British and tories under the command of Brown. Colonel Lee and himself then acted jointly and in concert. In a few days Brown surrendered.

At the siege of Ninety-Six his brother Joseph, who commanded a company, was shot while reconnoitring the fort; and another brother was taken prisoner by the tories, and delivered into the hands of Indians, who inhumanly scalped and then burned him as sport for their dance, many tories being present. At the great battle of the Eutaws, he commanded with Marion the militia of the Carolinas, and early in the action received a severe wound in the breast by a musket ball. His life was providentially saved by the ball striking the buckle of his sword belt, and an officer of the Maryland line caught him as he was falling.

In his military life, his strong characteristics were great sagacity and decision, collected courage and prudence, connected with sleepless watchfulness; so much so, that in his many and various engagements with all kinds of enemies, he was never taken by surprise.

Peace being restored, the voice of his country called him to serve her in various civil capacities, and he continued without interruption in public employment until 1801. By the treaty of Hopewell with the Cherokees, in which he was one of the commissioners, the cession of that portion of the state now called Greeneville, Anderson, and Pickens districts, was obtained. Soon afterwards he settled at Hopewell on

Seneca river, the place where the treaty was held. He was a member of the legislature, and afterwards of the convention that formed the state constitution. He was elected a member under the new constitution until 1794, when he became a member of congress. Declining a reëlection to congress, he was again returned a member of the legislature.

Such was the confidence of General Washington in him, that he requested his attendance at Philadelphia to consult with him on the practicability and best means of civilizing the southern Indians. And he also offered him the command of a brigade of light troops under the command of General Wayne, in his campaign against the northern Indians, which he declined.

In 1794, when the militia was first organized conformable to the act of congress, he was appointed one of the two major generals of the state, which commission he resigned after holding it a few years. He was one of the commissioners who settled the line between South Carolina and Georgia, and he was appointed a commissioner of the United States in all the treaties held with all the southern tribes of Indians, until he withdrew from public life.

It is deeply to be regretted that there has as yet been no full and general history of the upper parts of South Carolina, and of the various scenes in which he was called to act so prominent a part. This is owing principally to the rude and unlettered state of the country in its early settlement and revolutionary struggle, when but few men kept any particular records.

Determining to enjoy that tranquillity and peace which he had so greatly contributed to establish, with the simplicity of the early times of the Roman republic, he retired from the busy scenes of life to his farm at Tomassee* (a place peculiarly interesting to him), where he devoted himself with little interruption to domestic pursuits and reflections until his death. During this tranquil period, few events occurred to check the even tenor of his virtuous and happy life. Revered and beloved by all, his house, although remote from the more frequented parts of the state, was still the resort of numerous friends and relations, and often received the visits of the enlightened traveller.

* At this place (Tomassee), 1779, he fought the most desperate battle he ever was engaged in with the Cherokees, being attacked by them, amounting to ten times his numbers, in an open old field, where they fought hand to hand under the bloody tomahawk for three quarters of an hour, and succeeded, by daring valor, in driving back the savages with great slaughter.

He looked with great interest on our last war with Great Britain, and the causes that lead to it, distinctly perceiving that in its consequences, the prosperity, independence, and glory of his country were deeply involved. In this hour of danger, the eyes of his fellow citizens were again turned towards their tried servant. Without his knowledge, he was called by the spontaneous voice of his countrymen into public service. Confidence thus expressed could not be disregarded. He accepted a seat in the legislature in 1812, and was pressed to serve as governor at that eventful crisis, which with his characteristic moderation and good sense he declined. He thought the struggle should be left to more youthful hands.

In his domestic circumstances, although economical and prudent, yet he was indifferent to the acquisition of property. He had a competency, and never desired more. He had great simplicity of character, without contrariety or change. He reflected much, was ever grave, and said but little. He scarcely ever conversed on the scenes in which his eventful life had been spent, unless pressed very particularly to do so.

His features were strong and bold, with an uncommonly deep and powerful eye.

The prominent points of his character were judgment, decision, and prudence. He was from early life a firm believer in the Christian religion, and an influential member of the Presbyterian Church.

He died suddenly in 1817, apparently in full health, after having enjoyed a long life of seventy-eight years, rich in acts of patriotism and benevolence, and blessed with all those Christian charities that soften and comfort the heart of man.

HENRY LEE.

HENRY LEE was born in Virginia, on the 29th of January, 1756. His family was one of respectability, and even of distinction, and the name of his father frequently occurs in the lists of the members of the provincial assembly of Virginia. During the early part of his life, young LEE was educated at home under the care of a private tutor; he afterwards pursued his studies at Princeton College, New Jersey, then under the superintendence of the patriotic Dr. Witherspoon, whence he was graduated in the year 1774.

In 1776, while yet but twenty years of age, on the nomination of Patrick Henry, he was appointed to the command of one of six companies of cavalry, raised by his native state; the whole under the command of Colonel Theodoric Bland.

At this time, the want of an efficient body of cavalry was strongly felt in the continental army. During the campaigns of 1775 and '76, there was not attached to it a single troop of horse: the inconvenience, and indeed positive danger, arising from this was pointed out by General Washington to the congress; and in consequence, the Virginia regiment was taken into the service of the union. In September, 1777, LEE with his company joined the main army. Here, under the immediate eye of the commander-in-chief, he soon had opportunities of exhibiting his courage and capacity; and he rapidly acquired the confidence of Washington, one of the best tests of merit. He introduced a strict discipline into his corps, while he paid a rigorous attention to the equipment and the horses of his men. His troop was thus enabled to act, when called upon, with promptness and efficiency; and besides the ordinary duties of the field, in attacking light parties of the enemy, in procuring information, and in foraging, rendered the most effectual service to the Americans, while it greatly annoyed their opponents.

As Captain LEE in general lay near the British lines, a plan was formed in the latter part of January, 1778, to cut off both him and his troop. A body of cavalry, amounting to about two hundred men,

made an extensive circuit, and seizing four of his patrols, came unexpectedly upon him in his quarters, a stone house, while the majority of his men were dispersed in search of forage. He had with him at the time but ten men; yet with these he made so resolute and gallant a defence, that the enemy were obliged to retreat, after having lost four men killed, together with several horses, and an officer with three privates wounded. Of his own party, besides the patrols and a quarter-master-sergeant who were made prisoners, out of the house, he had but two wounded. Washington mentioned the conduct of Captain LEE upon this occasion in terms of marked approbation, and wrote to him a private letter congratulating him upon his fortunate escape. Soon after this affair he was raised by congress to the rank of major with the command of an independent partisan corps of two troops of horse, to which a third troop, together with a body of infantry, was afterwards added.

In the year 1779, LEE again found an opportunity of distinguishing himself by the successful execution of a plan which he had formed for the capture of the British garrison at Powles Hook. On the 19th of July, at the head of about three hundred men, he completely surprised the garrison, and, after taking one hundred and sixty prisoners, retreated with the loss of but two men killed and three wounded. The humanity shown on this occasion enhances the merit of the action, for under circumstances of recent cruelty on the part of the British which would have warranted a severe retaliation, quarter was given to all those who surrendered. As a reward of the "prudence, address, and bravery" shown by Major LEE in this affair, congress ordered that a gold medal should be struck under the direction of the board of treasury, and presented to him.

In the commencement of the year 1780, he joined, with his legion, the army of the south under General Greene, having been previously promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. In the celebrated retreat of Greene before Lord Cornwallis, the legion of Colonel LEE formed part of the rear guard of the American army. So hot was the pursuit that Colonel LEE at one time came in contact with the dragoons of Tarleton, and in a successful charge killed eighteen of their number, and made a captain and several privates prisoners.

When Greene had effected his retreat in safety, he detached LEE with Colonel Pickens to watch and interrupt the movements of Lord Cornwallis, to sustain the confidence of the whigs in that section of the country, and if possible to cut off any party that might be detached from the main army. In pursuance of these orders, a plan

having been formed to surprise Tarleton, the legion, while marching to its execution, fell in with some messengers who had been despatched by Colonel Pyle, a zealous loyalist, to apprize Tarleton of his situation. Mistaking the troopers of the legion for the British dragoons, the messengers communicated the object of their errand to Colonel LEE, who was thus enabled to come unexpectedly upon the British partisan. Pyle had collected about four hundred loyalist militia, and the object of LEE was at first to disarm and disperse them; but the approach of a party of the militia of Pickens having produced a partial discovery and drawn a fire from some of the enemy, a conflict ensued, in which about ninety of the loyalists were killed, and many severely wounded.

At the battle of Guilford, LEE's legion was actively engaged; previous to the action, encountering and driving back Tarleton's dragoons with loss, and afterwards maintaining to the left of the American line a sharp and separate conflict until the retreat of the main army. After this battle, Lord Cornwallis retired to Wilmington, while General Greene remained undecided whether to attend upon the motions of the British general, or, leaving him to act as he might think proper, boldly to advance at once into South Carolina, and endeavor to reannex to the union that and its sister state of Georgia. The latter plan, which led to results so fortunate for the country, and so honorable to those engaged in its execution, is stated to have been formed and supported by Colonel LEE, who was highly esteemed by Greene, and who is known to have enjoyed his confidence. The testimony of two gentlemen, (the Honorable Peter Johnston of Virginia, and Doctor Irvine of Charleston,) one of whom was a lieutenant in the legion, the other its surgeon, is conclusive as to this point: Dr. Irvine expressly declaring that he himself was the agent confided in by LEE, in his communications to General Greene; and several expressions in the correspondence of the latter can only be explained by the supposition that LEE was the author of the plan. In pursuance of this plan, Greene advanced southward, having previously detached LEE, with the legion, to join the militia under Marion, and in coöperation with him to attempt the minor posts of the enemy. By a series of bold and vigorous operations, Forts Watson, Motte, and Granby speedily surrendered; after which, the legion was ordered to join General Pickens, and attempt to gain possession of Augusta. On the way LEE surprised and took Fort Galphin. The defences of Augusta consisted in two forts: Fort Cornwallis, the stronger of the two, was held by Lieutenant Colonel Browne with a

party of regular troops; the other, Fort Grierson, was defended by the colonel of the same name, at the head of a number of loyalist militia. Fort Grierson was immediately taken by assault, the commander* with many of his garrison being killed, after which the approaches against Fort Cornwallis were commenced with vigor. Browne defended himself with skill and courage, frequently sallying out against the works of the besiegers; but finally on the 5th of June, after a siege of sixteen days, he was compelled to surrender. Browne had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the Americans in that section of the country; and fears were entertained lest the militia should satisfy their desire of vengeance in a summary manner upon his surrender. Such an event would have been repugnant to the feelings of LEE as an officer and a man, and accordingly he guarded against it with the utmost care. Browne was conveyed to his quarters, immediately after he had surrendered, and a company of the legion served him as a guard until he was placed in safety.

After the surrender of Augusta, LEE rejoined General Greene, then engaged in the siege of Ninety-six. In the unfortunate assault upon that place, which occurred soon after, he was completely successful in the part of the attack intrusted to his care; but the ill success of the other column and the rapid approach of Lord Rawdon determined Greene to raise the siege, and the advantages gained by LEE were pushed no farther. In the battle at Eutaw Springs, which soon followed, his military talents were again exerted, and again contributed in no small degree to the successful issue of the day.

Soon after the battle of Eutaw, Colonel LEE was despatched by Greene to the north, that he might represent to the commander-in-chief the circumstances of the Americans in the south, and through his mediation obtain the coöperation of the French fleet upon the coast. Washington was then engaged in the siege of Yorktown, and LEE arrived a few days before its surrender. He was present at that imposing and eventful ceremony, and, after having executed his commission returned again to the south.

The health of Colonel LEE had suffered greatly under the unceas-

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* The war in Georgia had been conducted with circumstances of mutual cruelty. So far had this spirit extended that quarter was often refused, and men were butchered after they had thrown down their arms. Grierson was shot by some of the militia after he had surrendered, and though LEE offered a large reward for the discovery of the murderers they were never detected.

ing activity of body and mind to which he had been subjected; besides, he thought himself neglected and his services underrated: under the influence of these feelings he sought and obtained permission to retire from the army, carrying with him however in his retreat the esteem and affection of General Greene, and the acknowledgment that *his services had been greater than those of any one man attached to the southern army.*

Soon after his return to Virginia, he married Miss Matilda, the daughter of Philip Ludwell Lee, and settled at Strafford, the residence of his father-in-law, in the county of Westmoreland. In 1786, he was appointed one of the delegates of Virginia to the general congress, which situation he retained until the federal constitution was adopted; he was likewise, in 1788, elected a member of the convention called in Virginia to ratify the present constitution, and there, by his warm and eloquent defence of it, greatly distinguished himself. He was afterwards chosen a member of the house of delegates of his native state. In 1792, he was elected governor of Virginia, which elevated station he filled for three years.

When the whiskey insurrection, in 1795, agitated the western part of Pennsylvania, General Washington appointed LEE to the command of the forces which were ordered against the insurgents. The insurrection, formidable on account of the numbers engaged in it, was subdued with ease and without bloodshed, and LEE received great credit for his conduct. In the disputes between this country and France, which occurred during the administration of President Adams, Washington was appointed to the command of a provisional army to have been raised in case of an invasion. In nominating the officers whom he wished to serve under him, Washington showed his high opinion of LEE by giving him the rank of major-general in case either of the officers named to that rank declined to serve, and otherwise placing him first in the list of brigadiers.

In 1799, he was again chosen to represent his native state in the congress of the union, and upon the death of General Washington he was appointed to pronounce his eulogium.* He retained his seat in congress until the election of Jefferson to the chief magistracy, when he again retired to private life.

The last years of the life of LEE were clouded by pecuniary

* It was upon this occasion he originated the celebrated sentence, "First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen."

embarrassments. The hospitable and profuse style of living so common in Virginia, ruined his estate, and even abridged his personal liberty. It was in 1809, while confined for debt, that he composed his memoirs of the southern campaign, in which he had himself borne so conspicuous a part, and the events of which he had so good an opportunity of knowing.

General LEE happened to be in Baltimore in 1812, at the time of the riots occasioned by the publication of some strictures on the war in the *Federal Republican*, a newspaper opposed to the course of the administration. The printing-office having been torn down and the materials demolished, the publication of the paper was renewed at Georgetown, while a house was engaged in Baltimore from which the papers were to be distributed. An attack on the house being apprehended, LEE, from motives of personal friendship to the editor of the paper, together with a number of others, assembled in the house for the purpose of protecting it. On being attacked by the mob, fire-arms were employed in defence, and two of the assailants were killed and several wounded. The military arriving soon after, a compromise was effected, and the defenders of the house, surrendering upon a promise of safety, were for greater security escorted to the city prison; but during the night the mob reassembled in greater force, attacked the jail, and forcing the doors killed or mangled in a shocking manner its defenceless inmates. From the injuries received upon this occasion General LEE never recovered. His health decaying he repaired to the West Indies, in hopes that a warmer and more equable temperature would arrest the ravages of disease. His hopes proved futile, and in 1818, returning to the United States, he expired on the 25th of March, at the house of Mrs. Shaw, the daughter of his old friend and commander General Greene, on Cumberland Island, near St. Mary's, Georgia.

General LEE was about five feet nine inches high, well proportioned, of an open, pleasant countenance, and of a dark complexion. His manners were frank and engaging, his disposition generous and hospitable. He was twice married: first to Miss Lee, by whom he had two children, a son and a daughter; and afterwards to Ann, daughter of Charles Carter of Shirley, by whom he had three sons and two daughters.

B. M. C.

WILLIAM A. WASHINGTON.

William Augustine Washington was one of those high-minded, chivalrous spirits of the south, whom the war of the revolution found and carried from his studies, and who exerted the most beneficial influence, throughout his career, in the glorious cause of American independence. He was called "the modern Marcellus," "the Sword of his country."

Colonel Washington was the eldest son of Baily Washington, of Stafford county, Virginia, and was designed by his father for the church; his attainments as a scholar were highly respectable: of the Greek language he was a remarkable proficient. He was one of the earliest to engage in the struggle of his country with Great Britain, and was appointed to the command of a company of infantry in the third regiment of the Virginia line. His first essay in arms was at York island, where his conduct elicited warm applause. In the retreat through New Jersey, he was distinguished for the fortitude with which he sustained its difficulties, hardships, and dangers. At the surprise of the Hessians, he led the van of one of the assailing columns, and whilst rushing with his company to the attack, received a severe wound from a musket ball, which passed entirely through his hand. Soon afterwards, three regiments of light dragoons having been raised, he was appointed a major in one of them, commanded by Lieut. Colonel Baylor. This corps was surprised in 1778, by a detachment of the enemy under General Grey, and almost cut to pieces. Washington, however, escaped, and, in the following year, was detached to join the army of General Lincoln in South Carolina.

There he was constantly employed with the light troops. His first rencounter with the enemy took place between Ashley ferry and Rantowle's bridge, when he drove back the cavalry of the British legion, commanded by Lieut. Colonel Tarleton, and took several prisoners; but being unsupported by infantry, he gained little advantage from

success. It is declared that Tarleton and WASHINGTON were personally engaged, and that in his flight Tarleton lost several of his fingers from a stroke of WASHINGTON's sword. An anecdote is current, which we believe to be correct, respecting this rencounter, to the following effect. Tarleton, when on a visit to an American family, remarked in conversation that he should be glad to get a sight of this Colonel WASHINGTON, of whom he had heard so much; when a lady in company smartly observed, "What a pity Colonel Tarleton did not turn his head when he lost his fingers!"

He has been thoroughly exonerated from all blame in relation to the surprises at Monk's Corner and Lanian's ferry, which had nearly caused the annihilation of the American cavalry, as in both instances he was acting in a subordinate capacity. Being compelled by these disasters to retire, with the remainder of his corps, to the borders of North Carolina, he solicited from General Gates the aid of his name and authority to facilitate its restoration and equipment. The general thought proper to refuse, and this refusal was severely punished in the battle of Camden, where the presence of a superior cavalry, led by such a gallant soldier as WASHINGTON, might have done much to insure success, or, at least, would have prevented the terrible slaughter which followed the defeat.

After this occurrence, Lieut. Colonel WASHINGTON was attached, with his cavalry, to the light corps commanded by General Morgan. By an ingenious stratagem, he carried the post at Rugely's, taking a large body of the enemy without firing a single shot. Aware of the character of his opponent, Rugely, he placed a pine log on the front wheels of a wagon, and painted it so as to have the appearance, at a distance, of a field-piece, threatening immediate destruction if resistance should be attempted. The affrighted colonel begged for quarter, and surrendered at discretion!

To the brilliant victory of the Cowpens, Colonel WASHINGTON contributed in a high degree, and congress voted him a silver medal in testimony of his gallant conduct on that occasion. His ardor in this affair had nearly cost him his life. Anxious to animate the troops to the pursuit by his example, he was hurried so far in advance as to be surrounded by several officers of the British legion, and was saved only by the bravery of a sergeant and his bugleman, Ball, who, by a pistol shot, disabled an officer, whose sword was actually raised for his destruction.

After the junction of the two divisions of the American army, at Guilford Court-house, his cavalry was made a part of a body of horse

and foot, selected by General Greene and placed under Colonel Williams. In the retreat into Virginia, and in all the manœuvres subsequent to the recrossing of the Dan, he essentially aided in baffling the skilful efforts of Cornwallis to force Greene to a battle. In the affair of Guilford, he acted a very conspicuous part. By a spirited and judicious charge, he broke the regiment of guards commanded by Colonel Stewart, who was killed, and in conjunction with Colonel Howard and his gallant Marylanders, nearly effected their entire destruction. Unfortunately, his hat fell from his head, and whilst dismounting to recover it, the officer next in command was so grievously wounded as to be disabled from managing his horse, which, wheeling round, carried him off the field. The rest of the cavalry followed, imagining that the movement had been directed. This accident saved the remnant of the guards, and in all probability the whole British army.

Colonel Garden says, "I heard from an officer of distinction in the army of the enemy, who was wounded in this action, the following interesting particulars:—'I was near General Webster when the charge was made by WASHINGTON. The desperate situation of the guards had its effect on all around. An officer of rank in the American army, quickly perceiving it, rode up to the British line, and called aloud, "surrender, gentlemen, and be certain of good quarters." Terrified by appearances, and concluding that defeat was inevitable, the soldiers of the regiment De Bose were actually throwing down their arms. Confusion was increasing. General Webster, whose presence of mind could not be disturbed, exclaimed, "Unless that gallant fellow is taken off, we are lost." A lieutenant of artillery, bringing up a field-piece at the moment, was directed to fire into the throng where the guards now appeared to be greatly outnumbered, and did so with the happiest success—the cavalry wheeled off, the remains of the battalion rallied, and the army was saved.'"

At Hobkirk hill, Colonel WASHINGTON obtained fresh and enduring laurels. By skilful manœuvring, he gained the rear of the British army, and captured eleven officers, with upwards of two hundred men. He was only able, however, to bring fifty of them off the field, in consequence of the retreat of the American forces.

At the battle of Eutaw, he exhibited signal valor, and made repeated charges on the British light infantry, who maintained their ground with a steadiness worthy of the attack. In a last effort for victory, his horse was killed under him, and, becoming entangled as he fell, in the ranks of the enemy, and unable to extricate himself, he was made prisoner.

Though unfortunate, no hero had ever in a higher degree merited success.

This was the final scene of his military performances, which had always been characterized by decision, firmness, and bravery; he was always at his post, courting danger, and contemning difficulty.

He remained a prisoner until the close of the war. He then settled in Charleston, but passed much of his time at his plantation, Sandy Hill, in the parish of St. Paul's, thirty miles distant. He married a lady, equally distinguished for her virtues and accomplishments, of South Carolina, to whom he had become attached during his captivity. He had two children, a son, William, and a daughter; the former died at Charleston in March, 1830, aged 42; the daughter, who is a widow, Mrs. Ancrum, still (1836) survives.

After the war, he served as a member of the legislature, where he gave such strong evidence of a capacity for civil service, that his fellow-citizens were induced to endeavor to persuade him to become a candidate for the office of governor. But his great modesty caused him to refuse every solicitation to that effect. "My ambition is," he constantly said, "to devote my services to my country, but there are two powerful reasons which render it impossible for me to aspire to the honor of governing the state. The first is, that till lately I was a stranger among you; and in my opinion the chief executive officer should be a native of the land over which he presides. Nor would I, on the score of qualification, put my talents in competition with those of many able men, who are ambitious of the honor. My other reason is insurmountable. If I were elected governor, I should be obliged to make a speech; and I know, that in doing so, without gaining credit in your estimation, the consciousness of inferiority would humble me in my own—*I cannot make a speech.*"

When General Washington accepted the command of the army, during the presidency of Mr. Adams, he selected his relative to be one of his staff, with the rank of brigadier general. His death occurred on the 6th of March, 1810, after a tedious and suffering indisposition, which he bore with heroic fortitude.

In person, Colonel WASHINGTON (who, it will be seen, had the title of general, but who is called colonel to distinguish him from the commander in chief,) was tall, and possessed of great strength and activity. His deportment in society was taciturn and modest. Possessing a very considerable property, in disposition he was hospitable, generous, and benevolent in the extreme, combining uprightness with kind and courteous manners.

MORGAN LEWIS.

Major-General Morgan Lewis, of the army of the United States, son of Francis Lewis, one of the signers of the declaration of independence, was born in the city of New York, on the 16th of October, 1754. His classical education was principally acquired at the Elizabeth-town academy and Princeton college. He graduated and delivered one of the honorary orations at the commencement in 1773; and received the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts. In the same year he entered, as a student at law, the office of the late Chief Justice Jay. In 1774, in expectation of the rupture which afterwards took place between Great Britain and her colonies, Mr. Lewis joined a company of young men, who united for military instruction, under an American, named Ritzman, who had served five years as a subaltern in the Prussian service, and who so perfected the individuals under his command in the military tactics and discipline of the great Frederick, that the company afterwards afforded to the army of the revolution more than fifty of its best officers.

In June, 1775, Mr. Lewis joined the army, then investing the town of Boston, as a volunteer in a rifle company commanded by Captain Ross, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Towards the latter end of August, he returned to New York, and assumed the command, to which he had been elected, of the company of volunteers before mentioned. On the 25th of the same month, he was by order from the provincial congress posted with his company to cover a party of citizens, who, after nightfall, were engaged in removing the arms, ordnance, and military equipments from the arsenal on the Battery. The Asia, a British ship of war, lay nearly abreast of the arsenal, and Captain Lewis was specially instructed to prevent all intercourse between that ship and the shore, while the working party were engaged. Scarcely had the work of removal commenced, when a boat was discovered gliding slowly, with muffled oars, within musket shot of one of the sentinels, who, after hailing several times without receiving an answer, fired a shot over her, and ordered her to come to the shore or pull out into the stream. No attention was paid to

this, but a small blue light was exhibited under the bow of the boat, near the surface of the water. In an instant the Asia was lighted from her topsail-yards to her main deck, and her battery opened in the direction of the arsenal. A section of the guard was now brought up, who discharged their pieces into the boat, by which, according to report, two seamen were wounded, one of them mortally.

In November of this year, the provincial congress organized the militia of the city of New York. The late John Jay was appointed to the command of the second regiment, with Captain LEWIS for his first, and John Broom, Esq., for his second major; the command of course devolved on Major LEWIS, as Mr. Jay never joined the regiment.

In June, 1776, when General Gates was appointed to the command of the army in Canada, Major LEWIS accompanied him as the chief of his staff, with the rank of colonel; after the army retired from Canada, congress appointed him quarter-master-general for the northern department. The remainder of the campaign was spent at Ticonderoga with an efficient force of about twelve thousand men, which kept the field until December, before it went into winter quarters, constantly expecting an attack from General Carleton, who, however, returned to Canada, after having approached within two miles and in full view of the American camp.

The campaign at the north opened in July, 1777, with the evacuation of Ticonderoga by its meagre garrison of two thousand two hundred men, in the face of a beleaguering force of quadruple its numbers. The retreat was effected with little loss; and the check given to the ninth British regiment at fort Ann, gave time for the security of the *attirail*, provisions, and munitions at the dependent posts, which were conveyed to Van Schaick's island opposite the city of Troy. About the 20th of August, General Gates again assumed the command; and the army, being reinforced, advanced to its ultimate position, selected by Kosciuszko, on Behmus' heights, where volunteers flocked to its standard from every direction.

Immediately after the action on the 19th of September, General Gates issued a general order in the following terms: "In the event of another conflict with the enemy, all orders given on the field by the adjutant, or quarter-master-general, are to be considered as coming from head quarters, and to be obeyed accordingly." From this it is fair to infer that the conduct of these officers in the preceding action, met with the approbation of the commander-in-chief.

On the morning of the 7th of October, the drums again beat to

arms, and information was received that the enemy was marching in force against the American left. Colonel LEWIS received an order from head quarters to repair to the scene of action with six or eight of the most intelligent and best mounted of Vernéjour's troops as videttes and messengers; to select the most commanding positions, whence to watch the movements of the enemy and the tide of battle; and to transmit to head quarters an immediate report of every important event as it should occur. That this mark of confidence in the judgment and capability of Colonel LEWIS was well bestowed, is sufficiently proved by the events that followed. The general himself saw nothing of the battle, but was constantly kept informed of its progress, and the reserved corps were marched by the most direct routes to the points where most required. The convention of Saratoga having been concluded on the 16th, the next day at noon the general officers of the hostile army, with its general staff, were introduced to the quarters of General Gates, with whom they dined; and about one o'clock, their rank and file descended from the heights to the plain on the margin of the Hudson river, where they were received by Colonel LEWIS, and, having stacked their arms, were conducted by him through a double line of American troops, to the rear of the encampment, whence they immediately commenced their march to Boston.

In 1778, Colonel LEWIS accompanied General Clinton on an expedition against a predatory party consisting of British regulars, Butler's, Caldwell's, and M'Kay's partisan corps, with Brant's savages, who, under command of Sir John Johnson, were laying waste the fertile valley of the Mohawk.

On this occasion, he was honored by Governor Clinton with the command of the advance, composed of a detachment of the first New York regiment, Major Van Benschoten's levies, and the Indians under Colonel Louis. At Stone Arabia, the enemy was attacked in the night and routed, with the loss of baggage, a small field-piece, and a few men; the residue fled, and reaching their boats before morning, escaped over the Oneida lake.

In 1780, he again marched with Governor Clinton to Crown Point, on lake Champlain, to cut off the retreat of the same hostile troops, who had debarked at that place, and crossed the country once more to ravage the ill-fated Mohawk valley. They escaped on this occasion by a *ruse* of Indian ingenuity.

At the close of the war, Colonel LEWIS returned to the profession of the law. He was appointed colonel commandant of a legionary

corps of volunteer militia of the city of New York; at the head of which he had the honor of escorting General Washington at his first inauguration as president of the United States.

In the same year, he was elected a representative from the city of New York to the state assembly; and in the succeeding year, to the same situation from the county of Dutchess, to which he had removed. He was also appointed one of the judges of the common pleas, and in December, 1791, was appointed attorney-general of the state. The next year, he was raised to the bench of the supreme court, and in 1801, was commissioned chief justice of his native state.

In 1804, he was elected governor; and having now become *ex officio* chancellor of the university, his attention was drawn to the subject of general education, and he determined to press the establishment of a permanent fund for the support of common schools, as a foundation for science, literature, morals, religion, and every other social blessing. Accordingly we find in his first address to the legislature in 1805, the following:

"I cannot conclude, gentlemen, without calling your attention to a subject which my worthy and highly respected predecessor in office had much at heart, and frequently, I believe, presented, though not perhaps in an official form, to your view, *the encouragement of literature.*

In a government resting on public opinion, and deriving its chief support from the affections of a people, religion and morality cannot be too sedulously inculcated. To them science is a handmaid, ignorance the worst of enemies. Literary information should be placed within the reach of every description of citizens; and poverty should not be permitted to obstruct the path to the fane of knowledge.

Common schools, under the guidance of respectable teachers, should be established in every village, and the indigent educated at the public expense. The higher seminaries also should receive every support and patronage within the means of enlightened legislators. Learning would thus flourish, and vice be more effectually restrained than by volumes of penal statutes."

In his military character as commander-in-chief, he personally reviewed and inspected the whole militia of the state, and introduced as an important arm of defence among them the use of *horse artillery;* which, after having stood the test of ridicule for some years, established its importance in the course of the last war, and has sustained its character and employment ever since.

He also pressed upon the legislature, the obligation it was under, of complying with the injunction of the fortieth article of the then constitution, which, among other things, directed the establishment of magazines of warlike stores at the public expense, in each of the counties of the state.

This had hitherto been neglected, but was now to a considerable extent carried into effect, and greatly contributed to the successes of the war of 1812. Enmity, opposition, and censure, are invariably a part of the price paid for the enjoyment of elevated stations. On the occasions here referred to, acts which we should suppose patriotism would have approved, met in the halls of the legislature with vituperation. The reviews *by brigade* were ascribed to the vanity of the governor, regardless of the fact that his orders left it to the discretion of the brigadier-general, to parade by brigades or regiments, as they should find it most agreeable and convenient. The establishment of magazines in compliance with the solemn injunctions of the constitution, was denounced as extravagant, and a useless and profligate squandering of the public funds, which had never been recommended, it was alleged, by any of his predecessors.

In 1810, Mr. Lewis was elected to the senate from the middle district of the state, by a much larger majority than had ever before been given.

In May, 1812, he was appointed quarter-master-general of the armies of the United States, with the rank of a brigadier. In the discharge of the duties of that department after the declaration of war, his strict adherence to the established regulations gave dissatisfaction to some of the state authorities, who we are willing to believe were influenced more by an impatient zeal for the service, than by any just cause of complaint or personal inconvenience; but as we have on a former occasion given place to an implied charge against the "quarter-master-general of that day,"* it is proper that we should here give the explanation which we have since obtained. The charge, then, appears to rest on the following isolated fact. A regimental quarter-master applied at the pay office of the department for funds to convey a militia company of his regiment, from Albany to Sackett's harbor, and was informed that the army regulations did not admit of such advances, but on extraordinary occasions, and then only on an order from head quarters. That the mode for procuring transport was for the commander of the detachment to furnish a return of its strength, its time of departure, and its place of rendezvous; when the transport allowed by law would be furnished, and the necessary subsistence be granted on application to the contractor's agent.

This was declined. At the close of the campaign, a demand was

* In the life of Governor Tompkins, p. 5., Vol. I.

made on the department for three thousand dollars, to discharge the expenses incurred by this company while on its march, which was refused. It was understood to have been afterwards paid by the state quarter-master-general, on the order of the governor. Had the legal course been adopted, the expense, it is said, would have been less than a tithe of that sum.

A cartel for the exchange of prisoners having been settled between the commanding generals of the hostile armies, General LEWIS opened a correspondence with the secretary at war, urging him to take measures for bringing from captivity those belonging to the United States. The secretary stated that the only difficulty was the procuring a sufficient sum in a currency which would be received in Canada in discharge of the debts they had contracted, and providing the necessary means of conveyance from Quebec to the United States. General LEWIS promptly engaged to furnish the means for the accomplishment of both objects, and received an unlimited and unrestricted authority to carry his proposition into effect.

Having, immediately after the unfortunate termination of the affair at Queenstown, sent letters of credit in favor of some of the officers there captured, upon a gentleman in Montreal, to whom he was well known, and who without hesitation, honored his drafts, he had no doubt of procuring the necessary means for the relief of the liberated prisoners, through the same channel. He, therefore, immediately despatched an infantry officer of the United States army, furnished with the required means for the performance of that duty. The debts of the prisoners were discharged, a transport chartered for their conveyance, and they were landed in Bosted early in December.

By the treasury books it appears the government credited General LEWIS with the sum of fourteen thousand two hundred and fifty dollars, advanced by him on the occasion.

The gallant Colonel Worth, in a letter to the editor, speaking of "the quarter-master-general of that day," says, "at a period when the treasury was empty, and public credit nearly extinguished, his own good name and resources enabled him to minister to public and individual relief. American prisoners at Quebec were in a suffering condition,—the British commissary refused bills on our government, as through the ordinary commercial channels, it was impossible to negotiate them. The house of M'Gilvany, however, offered to cash any bills drawn on MORGAN LEWIS in his individual capacity. Thus our countrymen were relieved, and very few of the recipients to this day know the source whence the relief came."

We have also been favored with a copy of a letter from another American officer after his release from captivity, where he had been detained as a hostage from May, 1813. It is dated Beauport, August 29th, 1814, and addressed to General LEWIS:

DEAR GENERAL,

I am obliged to trouble you with another bill of exchange before I depart from this place. I have this day drawn a bill at sight for six hundred dollars.

This bill is not for my own use, but for the relief of the American officers, late hostages and still detained prisoners, though exchanged. It is proper briefly to state the reason which compels me to use your letter of credit, for purposes entirely of a public concern. Urged by the destitute condition of the officers, many of whom were without funds to pay their house rent, I applied to his Excellency, Sir George Prevost, commander of the forces, &c., to negotiate a bill on the government of the United States. My request was refused, owing to the difficulty experienced in arranging these matters hereafter with the American government. Recourse was then had to mercantile houses in Quebec and Montreal, none of which would take a bill on the American government. But my countrymen have been most opportunely relieved by the generosity of the honorable Major Muir, who, feeling their embarrassment, has advanced the required sum on your private credit.

While in command at Sackett's harbor, General LEWIS advanced a considerable sum of money to Colonel Willcox, to enable him to fulfil his engagements to a corps he had raised in Canada, by permission of the American government, on his own funds, in the collection of which he had experienced a temporary disappointment.

Nor, while he remained at the post, was his beneficence confined to his own countrymen. Several British officers who were taken prisoners on the lake by Commodore Chauncey, were brought into Sackett's harbor destitute of funds and clothing, their baggage having been in another vessel, which escaped. These gentlemen applied to General LEWIS for assistance, which was readily granted. To the Baron de Longuille, (whom the general had known when a boy,) on his own personal responsibility; and to Captain Tyeth, for himself and officers, on his draft upon Colonel Edward Baynes, adjutant-general of the British forces. This draft was forwarded by flag to Kingston, and produced the following return:

"*Kingston, July 13th*, 1813.

"I do myself the honor of addressing to your care a letter for Captain Tyeth, of the eighth, or king's, a prisoner of war at Sackett's harbor, containing a bill on the American government, for one thousand dollars, being for cash advanced to Brigadier-General Winchester, by the commissary-general of the British army, endorsed in favor of Captain Tyeth, which you are requested to cause to be delivered to that officer, to enable him to pay the pecuniary obligation he is under to your kindness and consideration." A postscript is added, that Sir George Prevost begs to assure General LEWIS, that any

future advances he may *in his discretion* make to British prisoners, will be immediately repaid on presentment of their draft with his endorsement.

At the commencement of the last war, the justly lamented General Leavenworth tenanted a farm in a patrimonial estate of General Lewis, in the county of Delaware; and having obtained a captain's commission, he raised a company in that county, and joined the army acting on the Niagara frontier: its great gallantry procured for its able and worthy commander rapid promotion, but literally, in the course of the war, its own annihilation; only two or three of its members having, at its close, returned to their homes, and those disabled by wounds. The exigencies of the war had so greatly reduced agricultural labor and products in that part of the country, that the agent of the general had been unable to collect any rents from his estate during its continuance. In consequence of which the general sent to his agent the following order:

Every tenant who has himself, or whose son, living with and working for his father, has served in the course of the last war, either in the regular army or militia, is to have a year's rent remitted for every campaign he has so served, either personally or by substitute. A regular discharge during a campaign on account of sickness, to be considered as serving a campaign.

It being stated to the general shortly after, that his tenants who had not served in the army had been unable to improve their farms to advantage, in consequence of the diminution of labor, he sent to his agent the following:

Mr. Landon will remit to such tenants as are actually resident on their farms all arrearages of rent accrued during their own residence up to the 1st day of February last, dated October 2d, 1816.

Mr. Landon, who lived on the estate and had the agency of it for more than thirty years, having recently died, the preceding documents have been furnished by his eldest son, who certifies that the aggregate of such remissions amounted to the sum of seven thousand four hundred and two dollars, sixty-three cents.

We have selected these incidents from the mass of interesting facts which have been communicated to us from various sources, because they are more or less connected with the general's military life, and are sufficiently characteristic of his generous disposition and public spirit.

In March, 1813, General Lewis was promoted to the rank of major-general, his connection with the quarter-master's department ceased, and he was ordered to the Niagara frontier.

He assumed the command of his division on the 17th of April, concentrated his forces in the neighborhood of Fort Niagara, introduced order and discipline, and prepared to follow out the plan of the commander-in-chief, General Dearborn, who arrived on the 2d of May, and united his forces, which had been employed in the capture of York, with the division of Niagara. On the 12th, Colonel Scott with eight hundred men arrived from Oswego; a few days afterward Chandler's brigade, one thousand two hundred and sixty strong, arrived from Sackett's harbor, to which were successively added Macomb's artillery, three hundred and fifty, and the twenty-third regiment, with recruits for other regiments amounting to about five hundred and fifty men.

On the 27th, a force of between four and five thousand men, under the command of General LEWIS, made a successful descent on the British side of the Niagara river, near Fort George. He landed at the head of his division immediately after the advance guard had attacked the force assembled to dispute the debarkation; this first brought him, during the campaign, under the fire of the enemy. The British troops, after an animated conflict on the shore, were compelled to retire towards the town of Newark and the fort, whence, after firing their stores and magazines, they retreated, part by the river, and part by the Black swamp roads. As the stores were known to be valuable, great exertions were made to extinguish the fires, which were, however, only arrested by tearing the buildings to pieces.

The American troops were allowed to rest in the village for a few minutes, after which the pursuit of the enemy commenced. The *élite* and Boyd's brigade, with the exception of the rifle corps, advanced by the river road, the riflemen by that of the Black swamp. The pursuit was, however, soon arrested, not as has been erroneously stated, by orders from General LEWIS, but by those of the commander-in-chief, who, from indisposition had remained on board the Madison ship of war, anchored about two miles from the Canada shore. "Thus it was," says Colonel Worth, "*by orders* he (General LEWIS) recalled Scott, leading the advance guard, from his hot pursuit of the enemy then within his grasp near Queenstown." Much dissatisfaction was expressed at the time, because the enemy's garrison, about three thousand strong, was not captured as well as their post. Whether the order of General Dearborn was well timed or not, we are not called upon to give an opinion; but as the execution of the plan was intrusted to General LEWIS, we do consider it proper to say,

that we have the most ample testimony to prove that "his conduct on that occasion was worthy of his revolutionary character."

When the British flag was seen to descend and the American to ascend in Fort George, General Dearborn despatched his deputy adjutant-general, Major Beebe, with an order to General LEWIS to "*halt the troops*, and take a defensible position for the night." His orders were forwarded to the several commanders. General Boyd was overtaken at the distance of four miles; Scott about a mile in advance of him. The two corps immediately united and returned to Newark. Forsyth returned with about one hundred prisoners, unarmed artillerists, who had evacuated the fort after the infantry had abandoned them. A few minutes after Major Beebe had delivered the above order to General LEWIS, the commander-in-chief appeared on the ground, mounted, and reassumed the command. The reason for thus suspending the pursuit given in his official account of the transaction is, that "the troops, having been under arms from one o'clock in the morning, were too much exhausted for any further pursuit."

A few days after the capture of Fort George, the brigades of Generals Chandler and Winder were advanced under the former, to seek and attack the enemy, who were supposed to be in the neighborhood of Burlington heights.

"On this command, badly and negligently posted, the enemy made a gallant, and, for the object, successful night attack, which, although finally repulsed with great loss to the assailants, resulted in the loss of our two brigadiers. After this disaster, General LEWIS was despatched to take command, and be governed by circumstances. He found the troops in good spirits, although somewhat disorganized; and the enemy's numbers and position not well defined. They were, however, on a favorable line for a retreat, moving on the arc of a circle, flanked on its whole *tracé* by the lake shore, approachable on the entire circuit by their fleet, then in possession of the lake. Every step our force advanced, removed it from our main position, and gave the enemy the advantage of retiring on their resources; beside which, it would have been in their power at any moment, had the pursuit been continued, to have taken to their fleet, and by moving on the *chord* while we were retrogading on the *arc*, have thrown an overwhelming force on our base before the advanced command could, by any possibility, have come to the rescue. At this time the British fleet had been descried from Fort George, and General Dearborn, apprehending an attack on that post, ordered General LEWIS to conduct his

command to head quarters, which he did; but not without considerable loss of baggage and batteaux." Towards the latter part of the summer of 1813, General LEWIS was ordered to assume command of the forces assembled at Sackett's harbor, and thence accompany the new general-in-chief, Wilkinson, on the descent of the St. Lawrence. The precise object in view in this movement, if any, was at the time a mystery to the army, and one on which subsequent history has thrown no light. We only know that the secretary of war, who had joined the army, and the general-in-chief, like old tacticians, in view of contingent responsibility, were playing deeply at the game of *ruse contre ruse.*

It was understood the former proposed to strike at once at Montreal, and beyond all doubt the force (in conjunction with Hampton's division) was adequate; the latter interposed objections to leaving a fortress in his rear,—a doctrine exploded *even among the Austrians*, —that finally the war minister yielded the point, when lo! the general was for a dash at Montreal.

When the army moved from Sackett's harbor, about the 16th of October, General LEWIS was in bad health, and the general-in-chief complaining. After many delays and misadventures, the troops reached a place called Chrystler's, on the 10th of November; on the evening of that day, the enemy appeared in our rear, displaying a heavy flotilla, and an imposing column on the land, between which and our rear guard some skirmishing took place. Brown's brigade together with the light troops had previously advanced twenty miles to carry some batteries constructed by the enemy on eligible points, at the various rapids, the possession of which was indispensable to the passage of the boats. On that day, General Wilkinson gave up the command to General LEWIS, who was himself confined to his vessel by indisposition; he, however, made an effort, reconnoitred the enemy in the afternoon, and *at midnight despatched an order to the general* (Boyd) *commanding on shore, forthwith to strike his camp and unite with the advance, and a corresponding order to the flotilla.* The effect of this movement would have been to draw the enemy farther from his resources, to entangle his flotilla in the rapids, rendering retreat impossible—to have had the advantage of attacking his columns with a united force, and finally, rendering the capture of both morally certain.

The officer who communicated the order to General Boyd had not left his presence before *an order was delivered from General Wilkinson*, (without the knowledge of or communication with the actual

commander,) "*to face about and beat the enemy.*" The disastrous battle of Chrystler's took place on the 11th. The next morning the troops joined the advance at Cornwall, and on the 13th, recrossed the St. Lawrence to seek winter quarters amid the snows of the forty-fifth degree of north latitude.

The following year, General LEWIS was intrusted with the organization and command of the defences of New York, a point which it was not doubted would attract the greatest effort of the enemy; instead of which, the forces liberated from the European contest were directed upon New Orleans.

One incident more and we have done, and that, though the last, is certainly not the least in the life of an American octogenarian; on the 22d of February, 1832, at the request of the corporation of the city of New York, he delivered an oration, commemorative of the character of "the Father of his country," at the celebration of the centennial anniversary of his nativity. A large edition of this production was published at the expense of the city.

In the spring of 1779, General LEWIS married Gertrude, the daughter of Robert Livingston, and sister to the two Livingstons, Robert R. and Edward, who were successively ministers plenipotentiary to the court of France. She departed this life at the age of seventy-six, after a union of fifty-five years; and it is a remarkable fact, that this was the first death that had occurred in the general's family in that period, although it then numbered thirty individuals.

General LEWIS is at present the presiding officer of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati, president of the Historical Society, Grand Master of York Masons of his native state, and a member and patron of several other institutions for the promotion of literature and the arts.

This venerable man has now attained his eighty-first year, and is still in the enjoyment of vigorous health. Long may he abide among us a living monument to the youth of our country, and may the numerous progeny which surround him learn from him to illustrate and adorn the character of the gentleman and scholar, the patriot and philanthropist: so shall they in their turn become objects of the respect and pride of their countrymen. J. H.

BENJAMIN TALLMADGE.

THE name of the subject of the present memoir, has been honorably mentioned in the histories of his time, as an active and enterprising officer of the revolution. It is in our power to give, from his own manuscript remains, some interesting details of his military life, and, from other authentic sources, the facts which will be necessary to complete our sketch.

BENJAMIN TALLMADGE was born at Brookhaven, on Long Island, New York, on the 25th of February, 1754. His father, the Rev. Benjamin Tallmadge, was the settled minister at that place; his mother, Susanna, was the daughter of the Rev. John Smith, of White Plains, West Chester county, New York. His mother died when he was fourteen years of age, but his father lived until after the revolutionary war.

He exhibited from childhood an eager desire for learning, and under the tuition of his father made such progress in his studies, that at twelve years of age he was examined by President Daggett, of Yale college, then on a visit at Brookhaven, and found to be qualified to enter that institution. His father, however, considered him entirely too young, and delayed the commencement of his collegiate course until 1769. In 1773, he graduated at New Haven, and was one of the public speakers on that occasion. He was soon after invited to become the superintendent of the high school at Weathersfield, which station he held until he entered the army.

When the legislature of Connecticut resolved to raise their quota of troops for the campaign of 1776, he accepted a commission as lieutenant, and received the appointment of adjutant, in Colonel Chester's regiment. After visiting his father at Brookhaven, he joined his regiment at New York, in June of that year, from which time until the end of the war, he was in constant and active service.

On the 27th of August, Lieutenant TALLMADGE was with his regiment engaged in the battle on Long Island, and was one of the rear guard when the army retired to New York from their lines at

Brooklyn. He was afterward engaged in several skirmishes on the evacuation of New York island by the American army; and on the 28th of October, he was with General Spencer's brigade, in the attack on the Hessians who were advancing from West Chester to White Plains.

When Washington commenced his retreat through New Jersey, the New England troops were left on the east side of the Hudson, to call the attention of the enemy to their posts at Kingsbridge and Harlæm, and to divert them from the pursuit of Washington and his broken corps. But the period for the discharge of this division of the army was at hand, as the year of their service was now near its close.

Before the regiment to which Lieutenant TALLMADGE belonged was discharged, he received the appointment of captain of the first troop in the second regiment of light dragoons. This was one of the new regiments which congress had authorized the commander-in-chief to raise for the war; and as this appointment was from Washington himself, he accepted it with great gratification, and immediately enlisted his troop from the Connecticut levies. The regiment was ordered to rendezvous at Weathersfield, where the winter was occupied in preparing for the campaign of 1777. As soon as the spring opened, Captain TALLMADGE, as senior captain, conducted a squadron of four troops of horse to head quarters at Middlebrook, New Jersey, where they were reviewed by the commander-in-chief. The varieties of active service, and numerous rencounters in which he was engaged with parties of the enemy, who made several attempts to bring on a general action, though extremely interesting in the personal narrative of Captain TALLMADGE, we must necessarily omit.

As the British general failed to draw Washington from his strong holds, he at length relinquished his efforts and embarked his army for their expedition up the Chesapeake. Washington then crossed the Delaware, and moved slowly towards Philadelphia.

At Coryell's ferry, the remainder of the recruits for the second regiment of dragoons joined the army, and Captain TALLMADGE was promoted to a majority. He now took his station as a field officer, and subsequently bore his part in the actions of Brandywine and Germantown, and in the sharp conflict with the advance of the British army under General Howe at White Marsh.

When the American army went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, late in December, 1777, Major TALLMADGE was stationed with a detachment of dragoons, as an advanced corps, between the two armies. This brought him into several conflicts with detachments of

the enemy. In January, 1778, he removed with his regiment to Chatham, New Jersey, for winter quarters; and early in the spring, again took the field, and marched to King's Ferry on the Hudson, to which place also the main army proceeded after the battle of Monmouth, and the escape of the British army by sea.

In the course of this year, Major TALLMADGE opened a secret correspondence with some persons in New York, (for General Washington,) which lasted through the war. He kept one or more boats constantly employed in crossing the sound in this business. No important blow was struck by the main army during this campaign; but the light troops, being in advance, frequently came in contact with similar corps of the enemy.

On Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, on an elevated promontory, between Huntington harbor and Oyster bay, the enemy had established a strongly fortified post, with a garrison of about five hundred men. In the rear of the fort a band of marauders had encamped themselves, who, having boats at command, were in the constant practice of plundering the inhabitants along the opposite shores, and robbing the small vessels on the sound. This horde of banditti Major TALLMADGE had a great desire to break up. On the 5th of September, 1779, he embarked with one hundred and thirty men of his detachment, at Shipand point, near Stamford, at eight o'clock in the evening; and in about two hours, landed on Lloyd's Neck, and proceeded to the attack; which was so sudden and unexpected, that nearly the whole party was captured, and landed in Connecticut before morning. Not a man was lost in the enterprise, although the few freebooters who escaped fired on the party from the bushes while they were engaged in destroying the huts and boats.

In the campaign of 1780, the enemy extended their line of posts eastward on Long Island, for the double purpose of carrying on an illicit intercourse with the disaffected in Connecticut, and also to protect their foraging parties down the island. Major TALLMADGE, having constant intelligence from New York and all parts of Long Island, arranged a plan to break up the whole system, which he communicated to the commander-in-chief, who approved of it, and immediately gave him a separate command, consisting of the dismounted dragoons of the regiment, and a body of horse. With this body of troops, he took a position near the sound on the borders of Connecticut, where he had the best facilities of obtaining intelligence, either from the British lines, or across the sound. After some time was spent without an opportunity of effecting his purpose, he turned back towards

the Hudson, and took a station on the lines near North Castle, the very day on which Major André had been captured. Soon after he had halted and disposed of his detachment, he was informed that a prisoner had been brought in, by the name of *John Anderson.* On inquiry, he found that three men, by the names of John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Vert, who had passed below our ordinary military patrols, on the road from Tarrytown to Kingsbridge, had fallen in with this *John Anderson* on his way to New York. They took him aside for examination, and discovering sundry papers upon him, which he had concealed in his boots, they detained him as a prisoner. Notwithstanding *Anderson's* offers of pecuniary satisfaction, if they would permit him to proceed on his course, they determined to take him to the advanced post of our army, near North Castle; and they accordingly delivered him to Lieutenant-Colonel John Jameson, then the commanding officer of the second regiment light dragoons. By an oversight the most surprising, the prisoner was sent, together with the particulars of his capture, to General Arnold at West Point, while the papers found on him were sent by express to Washington, then on his way from Hartford to West Point.

Major TALLMADGE, so soon as he learned the particulars, immediately intimated his suspicions to Colonel Jameson, and urgently recommended that the prisoner be promptly remanded, which with some difficulty was effected; but the Colonel insisted on his purpose to send forward the particulars of the capture to General Arnold, by which means he obtained information of his danger, and escaped on board the Vulture, a British sloop of war. Before the morning of the next day, the prisoner was brought back and committed to the charge of Major TALLMADGE, who was the first to suspect that under the assumed name of Anderson he was an important British officer. This opinion was formed from observing his military step as he walked up and down the room, and the precision with which he turned on his heel to retrace his course, together with his general manners, intelligence, and refinement. Up to the time of his execution, Major TALLMADGE had the charge of him; to him Major André delivered the open letter to General Washington, disclosing his real character; and with him he walked to the gallows. This intercourse, under such trying circumstances, awakened deep sympathy, and induced a strong attachment in Major TALLMADGE for Major André. His own remarks are, "that for the few days of intimate intercourse I had with him, which was from the time of his being remanded to the period of his execution, I became so deeply attached to Major André, that I could

remember no instance when my affections were so fully absorbed by any man. When I saw him swing under the gibbet, it seemed for a time utterly insupportable: all were overwhelmed with the affecting spectacle, and the eyes of many were suffused with tears. There did not appear to be one hardened or indifferent spectator in all the multitude assembled on that solemn occasion."

In November of the same year, he resumed his scheme of annoying the enemy on Long Island. He directed his secret agents there to obtain the most accurate information of the state of a fortification called Fort St. George, erected on a point projecting into the south bay on Smith's Manor. This was a triangular enclosure of several acres of ground, strongly stockaded, with barricadoed houses at two of the angles, and at the third a fort with a deep ditch and wall, encircled by an *abatis* of sharpened pickets, projecting at an angle of forty-five degrees. Having obtained the necessary information, he communicated his project to the commander-in-chief, who considered the undertaking altogether too hazardous, and requested him to abandon it. Disappointed in his hopes at that time, he continued his inquiries, and at last determined to cross the sound and examine the post himself. He did so, and found that it was a depository of stores, dry-goods, groceries, and arms, whence Suffolk county could be supplied, and that "the works looked rather formidable." After much importunity General Washington authorized him to undertake the enterprise. With less than one hundred dismounted dragoons, he crossed the sound on the night of the 21st of November from Fairfield, and landed at a place called the Old Man's at nine o'clock. The troops had marched about five miles when the rain began to fall, and they were obliged to return and take shelter under their boats, which were concealed in the bushes, all that night and the next day. At evening the rain abated and the troops were again put in motion, and at break of day the attack commenced. The stockade was cut down, the column was led through the grand parade, and in ten minutes the main fort was carried by the bayonet. The shipping which lay near the fort loaded with stores attempted to make their escape; but the guns of the fort being brought to bear upon them, they were secured. The works, shipping, and stores were then destroyed; and while the troops were marching to their boats with their prisoners,—equal in numbers to themselves,—Major TALLMADGE with ten or twelve men, mounted on captured horses, proceeded to Coram and destroyed an immense magazine of forage, and returned to the place of debarkation just as his party with their prisoners had reached the same spot. Here they

refreshed themselves for an hour, and before four o'clock in the afternoon were again afloat on their return. They arrived at Fairfield that night without the loss of a man. The commander-in-chief and congress returned their thanks for this achievement in the most flattering manner.

During that part of the campaign of 1781 in which the main army was in Virginia, Major TALLMADGE was left with the forces under General Heath in the Highlands on the Hudson; still, however, holding a separate command, he moved wherever duty or a spirit of enterprise dictated. In continuation of his former plan of annoying the enemy on Long Island, he marched his detachment to Norwalk; and as Fort Slongo at Treadwell's Neck was next in course to Fort St. George, he determined to destroy it. On the night of the 9th of October, he embarked a part of his troops under the command of Major Trescott, with orders to assail the fort at a particular point. At the dawn of day the attack was made, and the fortress subdued. The block-house and other combustible materials were burnt, and the detachment returned in safety with their prisoners and a handsome piece of brass field-artillery. He then returned to the neighborhood of White Plains, where he found full employment in guarding the inhabitants against the attacks of the Refugee corps, under Colonel Delancey, and the Cowboys and Skinners, who infested the lines.

When the campaign opened in 1782, there was a prospect that the toils and perils of war would soon be ended; but whatever might have been the private opinion of Washington in that respect, he inculcated upon the army the necessity of strict discipline. The army was reformed, many supernumerary officers were permitted to retire, and the veterans who remained in the field were organized anew. It now became an object of solicitude to come in contact with the foe; but as they kept very much within their lines, there were few opportunities afforded to reach them in combat.

In the course of the ensuing winter, Major TALLMADGE took his station on the sound, and arranged another plan to beat up the enemy's quarters on Long Island, but a violent storm prevented its being carried into effect. At this time he received information that an illicit trade was extensively carried on between the opposite shores of the sound, and this he determined to break up. He succeeded in capturing many of the vessels, and several cargoes of valuable goods were taken and condemned.

We have before alluded to the secret correspondence which was conducted by Major TALLMADGE, during several years, with persons

within the British lines. When the American army was about to enter the city of New York after the peace, he entered the city before it was evacuated by the British, that he might afford protection to those who were the secret friends of their country, but who might otherwise have been exposed to ill treatment as Refugees or tories. On this occasion he was treated with great respect by the British officers, especially by General Carleton. He retired from the army with the rank of colonel. For several years afterwards he was the treasurer, and subsequently the president, of the Cincinnati society of Connecticut.

In March, 1784, Colonel TALLMADGE married Mary, the daughter of General William Floyd, of Mastic, Long Island, and shortly after removed to Litchfield, Connecticut; where he engaged extensively in mercantile pursuits, and resided the remainder of his life. Mrs. Tallmadge deceased June 3d, 1805, leaving several children, who are now living. Colonel TALLMADGE was married again on the 3d of May, 1808, to Maria, the daughter of Joseph Hallett, Esq., of the city of New York. This lady still survives.

It is not known at what period of life Colonel TALLMADGE became impressed with religious sentiments: it is probable, however, that the precepts and example of his pious parents never left their hold upon his mind. In his correspondence with Dr. Dwight, he says, "that he always determined at some time to become religious;" but it was not until 1793 that he publicly devoted himself to the service of God. From that period he exerted himself in the cause of piety and benevolence with as much zeal, earnestness, and perseverance, as had characterized his actions in early life.

Colonel TALLMADGE was chosen a representative in congress from Connecticut, in 1800. He was a firm and judicious member of that body, and watchful over the political interests of that country whose independence he had helped to win with his sword. His religious character while in congress was so well understood and so highly appreciated by the Christian public, that petitions involving religious interests were generally committed to him to be presented before the house. For a portion of the time of his service at least, the pious members of both houses held a stated weekly prayer-meeting, together with such of the members of their families as were present, of which Colonel TALLMADGE was an active and interested promoter. For eight successive elections he was returned as a member; and at the close of the last term, making a period of sixteen

years' public service in this capacity, he declined a reëlection, and retired to private, but perhaps a no less useful life.

"To public objects of benevolence he gave *publicly* and *largely;* and in his private benefactions, there are those now living who were the almoners of his bounty to the poor and needy, who can testify to the distribution of *thousands* to those who knew not the hand from which they were relieved."

The influence of his example was felt in every good work, and all who knew him loved and venerated him.

His latter days were marked by an humble resignation to the will of God, accompanied with a joyful hope and Christian confidence. His death was tranquil and serene. On the 7th of March, 1835, "he breathed his last, and went to his reward." At his funeral might have originated those consolatory "Thoughts" which are to be found in the poems of our American *Hemans:*

His was the upright deed,
His the unswerving course,
'Mid every thwarting current's force,
Unchanged by venal aim, or flattery's hollow reed:
The *holy truth* walked ever by his side,
And in his bosom dwelt, companion, judge, and guide.

But when disease revealed
To his unclouded eye
The stern destroyer standing nigh,
Where turned he for a shield?
Wrapt he the robe of stainless rectitude
Around his breast, to meet cold Jordan's flood?
Grasped he the staff of pride,
His steps through death's dark vale to guide?
Ah no! self-righteousness he cast aside,
Clasping, with firm and fearless faith, the cross of Him
who died.

Serene, serene
He pressed the crumbling verge of this terrestrial scene,
Breathed soft, in childlike trust,
The parting groan,
Gave back to dust its dust—
To heaven its own.

JAMES JACKSON.

General James Jackson was born in the county of Devon, in England, on the 21st of September, in the year 1757. From his father of the same name, a man of respectable connections, honest character, and stern republican principles, he inherited an ardent devotion to liberty, which strongly manifested itself at a very early age. King, lords, and commons, with all the boasted glory and grandeur of Britain, had no charms for his unyielding and buoyant spirit, which already aspired at equality, and saw the prospect of gratification in the far distant regions of America. In 1772, at the instance of John Wereat, a leading whig in Georgia, the parental sanction was given to his abandonment of the home of his ancestors. With that gentleman he repaired to Savannah, and began to read law in the office of Samuel Farley, an eminent attorney, carrying on at the same time, with very limited advantages, the course of education commenced in England. His forensic and common studies were soon interrupted.

In 1775, he warmly espoused the cause of freedom; and is believed to have been among the first lads of his age who shouldered a musket in hostility to the tyranny of Britain. He first distinguished himself when Commodore Barclay, and Majors Maitland and Grant, came in force, in 1776, against Savannah, being one of a party of nine, who, under command of Captain Bowen, after the detention of a flag sent by the patriots, and the discharge of a volley by the enemy, boarded and set fire to a merchant vessel, that drifted against and caused the precipitate abandonment of others held by British troops, in the river immediately opposite the town. In the same year, he was a volunteer in an attack, conducted by Colonel Baker, upon Tybee island, where some houses were occupied by armed men from hostile vessels of war that lay in the river, and drew fresh supplies from herds of cattle upon it. The buildings were destroyed, and the enemy driven to their ships. For gallant conduct on this occasion, he was honored with the thanks

of Governor Bulloch. Public regard was now so strongly attracted to the youthful soldier, that a company of light infantry was organized and placed under his orders. He continued to direct it until the fatal Florida expedition under General Howe, when he resigned, and had conferred upon him the appointment of brigade-major of the Georgia militia. In this capacity, he was in many skirmishes with the enemy, then advancing towards Savannah from the south; particularly in one in which the brave General Scriven was killed, and in which he received a wound in the ankle. After the fall of Savannah, on the 29th December, 1778, in the defence of which he had participated against the superior forces of Lieut. Colonel Campbell, the Georgians were reduced to the utmost misery. Their property was confiscated, their families were brought to poverty, their most venerable citizens were crowded on board of prison ships, and cruelties were inflicted unbecoming the most barbarous foe. The greater number of the state troops and organized militia having been, in the assault, killed or taken prisoners, and there being no longer a field in Georgia for his exertions, Major JACKSON crossed the Savannah river, to aid the whigs of Carolina. Barefoot and penniless, friendless and unknown, but resolute and sanguine, he joined General Moultrie's command, marching as a common soldier, and active in the engagements that ensued. It was his singular misfortune before he had reached the army, so wretched was his appearance, to have his character as an American officer denied, to be apprehended as a spy by a party of whigs whom he went to succor, condemned to execution, and saved from the gibbet only by the timely arrival of Peter Deveaux, a gentleman of reputation, afterwards a member of the executive council of Georgia.

In October, 1779, Major JACKSON served again in Georgia, in the unsuccessful assault upon Savannah by General Lincoln and Count d'Estaing. In March, 1780, he, unhappily, was the antagonist of Lieut. Governor Wells in a duel, which terminated fatally to the latter gentleman. The major was shot through both knees; and, confined by his wounds for months, refusing amputation, and abandoned by his surgeons, was prevented from taking part in the military operations of the spring of 1780. Here, justice to the major requires the declaration, that, although he was forced into this difficulty by a gross personal indignity, which his honor as an officer, and the spirit of the period, compelled him to resent, and although he had done nothing wherewith to reproach himself, yet he ever afterwards deeply lamented the dreadful catastrophe. He was no duellist from principle: he abhorred the practice. It was his lot on several other occasions in subsequent

life to be similarly involved; but he went always to the place of contest without preparation, with no vindictive passion, confiding in the rectitude of his cause, and convinced that duty to his country demanded the exposure of his person.

In August, 1780, Major JACKSON repaired to Colonel Elijah Clarke's camp of Georgians. He was in the celebrated battle of Blackstocks, under General Sumter, in South Carolina. When the gallant Sumter was wounded, the command devolved upon Colonel Twiggs, of Georgia, the senior officer present. At the close of the encounter, the major was despatched with a body of cavalry in pursuit of Colonel Tarleton, whom he vigorously pressed, and from whom he captured and brought off thirty horses. No disparagement of the veteran Sumter, nor of the patriotic sons of Carolina, is intended: true valor is never envious of the military laurels of others: let it therefore be as readily conceded, as it is firmly insisted, that the conduct of the Georgians in that memorable engagement contributed greatly to the success of the day. History has given them but little credit here; and history has been equally unjust to them, when treating of many other events in which their valor was signalized. Indeed, throughout the war, in the three most southern states, they were always found in scenes of the greatest peril, ever prompt to hazard their lives for the general good. Georgia rightfully boasts of many brilliant and valiant names —they should be rescued from oblivion: especially should the memories of Twiggs and of Clarke be respected by one who would faithfully recount the story of the revolution. They were among the bravest of the brave—officers of skill and unceasing enterprise, to whom American liberty is indebted for a thousand noble deeds. Such was the confidence reposed in Major JACKSON at this time, that, after the battle of Long-Cane, in which Colonel Clarke was disabled, the major, more than once, saved his command from total dispersion. Of impassioned eloquence and the highest powers for declamation, he frequently addressed the troops, setting before them in glowing terms the wrongs of their country, and arousing them to acts of patriotic effort. The affection of the Georgians for his person was, we are assured, also felt by the Carolinians, who were well pleased when he was in charge of parties, or acted, as he often did, as major of brigade to the united combatants of the two states.

Early in 1781, General Pickens, who properly conceived himself justified by Lord Cornwallis's proclamation, and by British outrage, in breaking his parole, was intrusted with the command of the Carolina and Georgia militia attached to General Morgan's army. Major

JACKSON was his brigade-major. Is it too late for a magnanimous and grateful people to acknowledge meritorious service, although that service may not, heretofore, have been fully recorded by the annalist? May not the author of this memoir, acutely feeling for the honor of his native state, and justly alive to the reputation of Major JACKSON, confidently hope, that even now, an achievement of high chivalry may be admitted, if satisfactory evidence be adduced? It is asserted, then, upon the authority of General Pickens, whose certificate, dated 6th February, 1787, is in the writer's possession, which was published in the gazettes of the south at a period when Major, then General, JACKSON'S enemies were striving to overthrow him; which was given voluntarily, and never contradicted; published, too, during the lives of General Pickens, and of the principal continental and militia officers who fought at the Cowpens: that Major JACKSON, "by his example, and firm, active conduct," did much "to animate the troops, and insure the success" of the Americans; that "it was owing to accident, or mistake, that his name was not returned to congress, as one of the officers who particularly signalized themselves at the Cowpens;" and that "the major, in the face of the whole army, ran the utmost risk of his life in seizing the colors of the 71st British regiment, and afterwards introducing Major M'Arthur, commanding officer of the British infantry, as a prisoner of war to General Morgan." After this, the major was at the crossing of the Catawba by Lord Cornwallis. He narrowly escaped the sabres of Tarleton, while endeavoring to rally and form the discomfited militia surprised by that officer at Tennant's tavern. He was with General Pickens and Colonel Lee, when Pyle's corps was destroyed on Haw river. It was his fortune to be engaged frequently and conspicuously, and to gain the approbation of General Greene, to whom he was introduced at Salisbury by General Morgan; and who then determined to place under his direction a legionary corps, as soon as one could be raised for the service in Georgia.

Colonel Baker having undertaken an expedition against Augusta, Major JACKSON considered it his duty to abandon the main southern army, and return to the state whose commission he bore. The intervening country was almost wholly hostile: but he surmounted every difficulty, joined Baker, and was immediately ordered to recross the Savannah, and imbody a force in Carolina. Having succeeded in collecting two hundred and fifty men, who were committed to the charge of Colonel Hammond, he returned to the camp, from which Colonel Baker, in disgust, had retired. Colonel Williamson, who succeeded Baker, had also withdrawn. General Pickens and Colonel

Lee were yet with General Greene. This was the hour on which depended the future capture of Augusta. Had the Georgians then abandoned the field, Colonel Brown, the British commander, might have been secure against all future enterprise. The major assumed the command. His talent for extemporaneous elocution was again called into exercise. He, on horseback, depicted to the dispirited patriots "the miseries they had endured, and the cruelties that had been perpetrated by Brown and Grierson; cruelties which their dispersion would only tend to renew. That vengeance was within their reach. That to give up the opportunity of obtaining it, was giving up their pretensions to the character of good soldiers; was sacrificing their feelings and duties as citizens, sons, fathers, and husbands." A resolution to conquer, or die, was proclaimed by the brave men whom he addressed. Operations were forthwith commenced anew, against the garrison. The major had prepared fascines, mounted a nine-pounder, and was ready to break ground against Grierson's fort, when Colonel Clarke arriving, superseded him. General Pickens and Colonel Lee appeared afterwards, and Augusta fell. The certificate by General Pickens, to which reference has already been made, also makes known, that, at Augusta, "Major JACKSON's exertions in the early period of the siege, laid the ground work for the reduction of that place. He led one of the advanced parties, as Captain Rudolph did another, at the storming of Grierson's fort; and had the command of a moving battery at the time of the surrender of fort George, in which he conducted with honor to himself and his country."

In conformity with his resolution, taken during the campaign in North Carolina, General Greene now gave to Major JACKSON a commission for a partisan legion, confirmed by congress in 1781. This he enlisted in a few days. Appointed commandant at Augusta, he maintained his post, notwithstanding Lord Rawdon's march, General Greene's retreat from Ninety-Six, his being entirely separated from the American forces, and encompassed by hostile troops. A more dangerous enemy than the British bayonet, arose in the heart of his camp. Treason presented its front, excited by emissaries from Savannah. His infantry became disaffected, and his own quarter-guard, with others, were engaged to murder the colonel in his bed, bayonet the principal officers, and, seizing the governor of Georgia, conduct him a prisoner to the enemy. Information of this plot was given to Colonel JACKSON by an honest dragoon. His cavalry were forthwith drawn out, the infantry paraded without arms, a charge upon them made by the dragoons, and the ringleaders arrested, tried, condemned, and exe-

cuted. This rigid discipline produced the happiest effect; his infantry, in which alone disaffection had existed, behaving afterwards, in many engagements, with fidelity and consummate bravery. Savannah remaining in possession of the British, the legion was detailed by General Twiggs, to operate in its vicinity. A statement of the various skirmishes in which it acted, would be prolix and unprofitable. With it, the colonel attacked a post on the Ogeechee, which surrendered: but one of the officers being slain by an American, its garrison resumed their arms, and the enterprise was defeated. On the same day, he assaulted another, held by royal militia, and killed or captured them almost to a man; and was himself, in the afternoon, charged by the entire force of British cavalry from Savannah, led by Colonel Campbell in person; whom, with inferior numbers, he fought with desperation, destroying or disabling as many of the foe as he had himself men engaged in action. When General Anthony Wayne assumed the direction of affairs in Georgia, Colonel JACKSON joined him at Ebenezer. The legion was, in general orders, designated as the advance corps of the army. In this hazardous service, the colonel was employed until the reduction of Savannah; experiencing, for six months, every embarrassment which such a situation could produce in a destroyed, swampy, and pestilential country, fifteen miles in advance of the main body, exposed to continual incursions from the enemy, with not a hovel to cover a corps, already in rags, from the vicissitudes of the weather. He very often pursued parties of hostile cavalry to the fortifications of Savannah, and picked off men and horses from the town commons: destroyed a magazine of rice, stored for the British garrison, within reach of their cannon; passing through an encampment of diseased tories, who had exhibited no mercy for the patriots, but whom he humanely spared: drew the enemy into ambuscades, from which they greatly suffered; and was prominent in the battle of May, 1782, between General Wayne and Colonel Brown. His last engagement, and the last in Georgia between the troops of the two countries, was fought on Skidaway island, on the 25th July. On the 11th of the same month, "in consideration of his severe and fatiguing service in the advance," as General Wayne was pleased to say, the keys of Savannah had been, by the general's order, delivered by a committee of British officers to the colonel, who was the first American soldier to tread the soil of a town, from which, the arms of a tyrant had too long kept its lawful possessors.

Closing here our recital of Colonel JACKSON's revolutionary acts, it may be admissible to express our admiration of that zealous patriotism

and gallant bearing, which, in seven years, elevated a boy without a shilling, an emigrant without connections, and with little patronage, to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the service of his adopted country; honored with the friendship of Sumter, Pickens, Morgan, Wayne, and Greene, and possessed of the affection and confidence of that people, whose destinies he had crossed the Atlantic to share—the people of the sovereign state of Georgia. Her legislature, on the 30th July, 1782, unanimously voted, that he had "rendered many great and useful services" to America; and presented to him a house and lot in Savannah, "as a mark of the sense entertained of his merits."

The profession to which Colonel JACKSON's early studies had been directed, demanded his unremitting attention. Assisted by the advice of George Walton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, he was soon admitted to its honors and emoluments. In 1785, the claims of a family were added to his other motives for exertion. In that year, he was married to Mary Charlotte Young, daughter of William Young, a deceased patriot, who had been among the foremost to raise the standard of freedom. But the bar presented a field too limited for his active mind. He sought political advancement. By the people of Chatham county, he was sent several years, successively, to the state legislature. Early after his entering upon political life, the benignity of his heart impelled him to support enactments, by which certain obnoxious individuals were relieved from the acts of confiscation and banishment. But for his influence, they might never have returned to America, nor recovered a dollar of their estates. The ingratitude of our nature was glaringly exhibited in the subsequent conduct of many of these pardoned men, who were, throughout the life of Colonel JACKSON, his most bitter and uncompromising foes. And the grovelling, calculating baseness of that nature, was manifested in an offer made for his support by one, who tendered a direct bribe, which was indignantly rejected.

In 1786, he was made a brigadier general, and an honorary member of the Cincinnati society. On the 7th January, 1788, at the age of thirty years, he was elected governor of Georgia, which office he modestly declined, declaring that neither his age, nor experience, would justify acceptance. As brigadier general, however, he proved his readiness to serve his country by actively directing, in person, military operations for the defence of the counties on the seaboard, harassed by predatory and murderous bands of Creek Indians. After ratification by Georgia of the federal constitution, he was, in 1789, chosen to represent her eastern district in the first congress held under

that sacred instrument. In many of the most important debates, now referred to as exhibiting an authoritative exposition by that body of the principles of the constitution, General JACKSON engaged. In 1791, his great and sincerely respected friend, General Wayne, who had become a citizen of Georgia, and possessed, very justly, the veneration of her people, was induced, doubtless with honest purposes in himself, yet certainly, perhaps unconsciously, by the instigations of General JACKSON's adversaries, to become, in opposition, a candidate for the same district. An animated contest was waged before the people. General Wayne was returned. General JACKSON presented himself before the house of representatives in February, 1792, contested the return, personally conducted his claim to the seat, and obtained a decision, awarded without a dissenting voice, that General Wayne was not entitled to retain it. The house refused, by the casting vote of the speaker, to declare General JACKSON elected. The concluding speech of General JACKSON is represented, in a published statement of that contested election, one of the first under the present constitution, to have been a display of brilliant oratory, followed by long continued applause. "With these sentiments, Mr. Speaker," said he, in closing, "I submit the facts I have brought forward to the house; and with them I commit the rights of myself, the rights of the state of Georgia, and, I had almost said, the rights of the United States, to their decision; and I beg leave to repeat, that A FREE REPRESENTATION was what we fought for, A FREE REPRESENTATION was what we obtained, A FREE REPRESENTATION is what our CHILDREN should be taught to LISP, and our YOUTHS to relinquish only with their LIVES." Charging against General Wayne, for whose character and services he had profound respect, no improper conduct; he did not hesitate to drive home against his own enemies accusations of the blackest corruption at the polls. His charge was sustained by the legislature of Georgia, who, in December 1791, investigated the conduct of a judge of her superior courts in connection with that election; General JACKSON then a member of the house and of the impeaching committee. The house unanimously impeached, the senate unanimously convicted, and the judge was sentenced to loss of office, and disqualification for thirty years.

In December, 1792, when again a member of the legislature, General JACKSON, jealous, like other statesmen, of the jurisdiction assumed by the supreme court in the case of Chisholm against the state of Georgia, and believing that, were such jurisdiction permitted, the retained sovereignty of the states would be lost, introduced resolutions

which, sustained by the legislature, called for, and, in part, produced the eleventh amendment of the federal constitution. In this year, he was elected a major general; and was again, in the next, employed on the frontiers in repressing the violence of our savage foes. In 1793, 1794, and 1795, he was a senator in congress. Recalled by his fellow citizens, who (inflamed almost to madness, and discerning around them, in every quarter, their rights trampled upon by men of highest character,) passed resolutions in their primary county meetings demanding his aid at home, he resigned his honorable station, and immediately embarked all the faculties of his mind, all the firmness of his nature, and all the reputation he had acquired, in indefatigable exertions to effect a repeal of the act by which Georgia had sold to companies of speculators millions of acres of her western territory. To recall the memory of her degradation, to assist in extending remembrance of her shame, can give no satisfaction to her sons. The biographer approaches the subject with loathing, impelled to it by the obligations he has assumed. His painful duty will be comparatively light, if he can convince himself that his succinct presentation of the speculation shall have the least effect in fastening upon the minds of the American people the belief, that "the price of liberty is eternal vigilance;" and in convincing them that, whilst a just confidence is given to their public servants, they should be watched with eyes that never sleep. A majority of the Georgia legislature had been bribed by promises of shares —some by certificates of shares, for which they were never to pay— others by expectations of slave property. The foulest treason had been perpetrated, under the guise of legislation. Citizens of the most exalted standing from several states, some of them high public functionaries: one a senator from Georgia, whose duty required him to have been at his post in congress; others judges, generals, revolutionary characters, whose popularity and past services made them more dangerous, and served ultimately to heap degradation upon their heads, had attended at Augusta, in January 1795, and executed their unhallowed purpose. Georgia had been robbed of her domain—her own lawgivers corrupted and consenting—and an indelible stigma fixed upon her fame, her own children blackening her escutcheon. The full iniquity of this nefarious legislation—if usurpation can be denominated legislation—was exposed by General JACKSON in a series of letters addressed to the people under the signature of "*Sicilius.*" At the following session he was a member. The all-absorbing subject, with the petitions, remonstrances, memorials, and other proceedings of the people, was referred to a committee of which he was chairman.

Testimony was taken upon oath, which established deep and incontrovertible guilt. The rescinding law was passed. It was drawn and reported by General JACKSON, and adopted as it came from his pen. The merits of this latter act—its constitutionality—its consistency with republican principles—its necessity—its justice—have all been freely and ably discussed in our country, in private circles, in pamphlets, in the public gazettes, in the congress of the union, in the supreme court. The decision of the country, perhaps, has been against the power of the rescinding legislature, so far as innocent purchasers under the fraudulent grants were interested; but, whether constitutional or not, nothing is more certain than that the honest of every section of the United States: all who detest corruption, admire virtue, and regard an honest representation as the bulwark of the public liberties, have considered its action upon the Yazoo speculation as pure, and its motives patriotic. The citizens of Georgia, especially, have held in horror and detestation the authors and abettors of her humiliation; and have consecrated with their best affections the memories of those who were faithful to the state. The Yazoo Act repealed, every vestige and memorial of its passage expunged from the public records, and burnt with all the ceremony and circumstance which popular indignation demanded, the popularity of General JACKSON became unrivalled. But his happiness, and that of his family, were destroyed. By resistance to the speculation, the number of his adversaries was vastly augmented. Aristocratic pride had been humbled, venality had been exposed, visionary fortunes had been prostrated, principalities had been lost. His person was repeatedly attacked; his life was often in imminent danger; and his reputation was assailed with unrelenting calumnies, from one end of the United States to another, wherever purchasers and sub-purchasers resided, which pursued him to the grave.

General JACKSON was, in 1798, a member of the convention that formed the present constitution of Georgia. Much, if not the greater part, of this instrument was prepared by him. He was governor from January 1798 to March 1801. His administration was remarkable for efforts to effect a cession of the territory now embraced within the states of Alabama and Mississippi; for exertions in behalf of the university of Georgia, which commenced operations under the venerable Josiah Meigs in 1801; and for the cordial support he gave to the republican party, in opposition to the policy of President John Adams. In December, 1801, he resumed his station in the senate of the United States. In 1802, he signed, as a commissioner of Georgia, jointly

with Abraham Baldwin and John Milledge, articles of cession, by which Georgia yielded her territory west of the Chattahoochee. In 1803, certain charges of corruption in office when governor, relating to the Yazoo deposite, were preferred against him by one Zachariah Cox. These, together with documents in support, were referred by the general assembly of Georgia to a select committee; and the spectacle was presented of a grave inquiry instituted into the official conduct of a citizen, charged with accepting a douceur, when at the head of the state, who, within a short period previous, had stemmed, with indomitable courage and unshaken virtue, a torrent of the vilest iniquity; and had contemptuously rejected overtures, the acceptance of which might have imparted princely wealth to himself and his posterity. A resolution was reported, and adopted by both branches, no one dissenting, that General JACKSON "had been vilified by the said Zachariah Cox; that his conduct was, during his administration, characterized with honesty and disinterestedness;" and that "his reputation stands too high in the opinion of this legislature, and his fellow-citizens at large, to be affected by any malicious insinuations or assertions whatsoever."

General JACKSON was a member of the senate until March, 1806. In his career in that exalted body, he was perfectly independent. He supported the administration of Mr. Jefferson only so far as he deemed it correct, opposing its measures when his judgment so directed, and declaring, in the judiciary debate in 1802, that "as a political man, he was no more for Thomas Jefferson than he was for John Adams. When he acts according to my opinion right, I will support him; when wrong, oppose him—and I trust a majority on this floor will always act in the same way." The station of president, pro tempore, was tendered to him: but he declined it, preferring to be on the floor, always ready to resist the claims of the grantees and purchasers under the rescinded Georgia grants, to a large portion of which claims he made opposition ending only with his last gasp. He died on the 19th March, 1806. Interred four miles from Washington, his remains have lately been removed to the congressional burial yard. John Randolph of Roanoke, his personal friend and political admirer, wrote the inscription on the tablet which covers them. Mr. Randolph had in youth been inflamed with a high respect for his lofty public integrity; was five years in congress with him, where a personal attachment was contracted; and is understood to have said that his own life had, in some degree, its model in his. Hence, perhaps, connected with his own abhorrence of every thing vile, proceeded Mr. Randolph's invin-

cible hostility to the Yazoo claims. Georgia has sought to perpetuate General JACKSON's name, and services, by giving the first to a county, and by expressions of her sense of the last in her legislative resolutions. Her gratitude was merited. If there was a passion stronger than all others in the heart of General JACKSON, that was devotion to her service. She was the earthly object of his adoration. For her, and in her service, he surrendered all hope of federal distinction and federal advantages, which his revolutionary deeds, his civil life, his early congressional displays, his acknowledged talents, his admitted abilities for public usefulness, might have led him to expect. Whilst, with enlarged patriotism, he frequently affirmed that the proudest title known to man was that of "an American citizen," and warmly cherished the union of the states, and the constitution adopted by the sages and fathers of the revolution; he yet regarded Georgia, emphatically as *his country*, and as such, congratulated her in debate in the senate in 1803. Time has passed away, and with it the bitterness of hostility. Prejudice and passion have passed, and truth and justice have sway. Whatever may be the violence and conflicts of contending parties; however, occasionally, authority may be claimed for opposing doctrines: in General JACKSON's acts and principles it is conceded by all in Georgia, that never had the Union a more patriotic citizen, never Georgia a more resolute soldier, a more intelligent statesman, a more devoted servant.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE was born in the village of Egremont, near White Haven, in England, on the 20th June, 1756. He was brought by his father to America soon after the peace of 1763, who, returning, confided him to the care of the Rev. William Richardson, his maternal uncle, a Presbyterian minister in the Waxhaw settlement, South Carolina, who, having no children, adopted him as his heir. He was sent to an academy in North Carolina, whence, on being prepared for college, he was removed to Nassau-Hall, in Princeton, New Jersey, where the Revolution found him ready to graduate.

The venerable Dr. Witherspoon, yielding to the solicitations of the students, permitted them to organize a company, and join the American army, then making its first campaign. W. R. DAVIE acted as sergeant of this gallant band. After serving a tour of duty in New Jersey and New York, he returned to college, and graduated with the highest honor of his class.

On his return home, young DAVIE, finding all the commissions for the troops just levied had been issued, determined to study law, and went for that purpose to Salisbury, North Carolina. The war continuing, DAVIE'S devotion to the cause of freedom, and his ardent desire to bear his part in the glorious struggle, again induced him to abandon his studies. In order, as soon as possible, to accomplish his wish, he prevailed on a patriotic gentleman by the name of Barnet, too far advanced in life for military service, but of high standing and great popularity, to raise a troop of dragoons, by whose influence he obtained a lieutenancy in this troop. The captain immediately joined the southern army: resigning soon after, the command devolved on Lieutenant DAVIE, by whose request the troop was attached to Pulawski's legion. In this corps he rose to the rank of major. In a charge of cavalry at the affair of Stono, DAVIE received a severe wound, and was removed from the field to the hospital in Charleston, where he suffered a tedious confinement. On leaving Charleston, being lame from his wound and unfit for duty, he returned to Salisbury, to

prosecute the study of law, and in the fall of that year received from the governor of North Carolina license to practise.

In the winter of 1780, he was empowered by the government of North Carolina to raise one troop of dragoons, and two of mounted infantry. To equip this force he expended the whole of the estate left him by his uncle. With it he protected the south-west part of North Carolina from the predatory incursions of the British and loyalists, and was constantly on the enemy's lines, performing a most important and hazardous duty.

Colonel DAVIE joined General Rutherford, and shared in the battle at Ramsours' mill, which eventuated in the defeat and dispersion of a large tory force. Shortly after this, he united with General Sumpter of South Carolina, and Colonel Irvine of North Carolina, in the attack on the British encampment at Hanging Rock, where they succeeded in destroying the British commissary's stores, capturing three companies of Bryan's regiment, and about sixty horses, and arms of all kinds.

"When Lord Cornwallis entered Charlotte, a small village in North Carolina, Colonel DAVIE, at the head of his detachment, threw himself in his front, determined to give him a specimen of the firmness and gallantry with which the inhabitants of the place were prepared to dispute with his lordship their native soil.

"Colonel Tarleton's legion formed the British van, led by Major Hanger; the commander himself being confined by sickness.

"When that celebrated corps had advanced near to the centre of the village, where the Americans were posted, DAVIE poured into it so destructive a fire, that it immediately wheeled, and retreated in disorder. Being rallied on the commons, and again led on to the charge, it received on the same spot another fire with a similar effect.

"Lord Cornwallis, witnessing the confusion thus produced among his choicest troops, rode up in person, and in a tone of dissatisfaction upbraided the legion with unsoldierly conduct, reminding it of its former exploits and reputation.

"Pressed on his flanks by the British infantry, Colonel DAVIE had now fallen back to a new and well selected position.

"To dislodge him from this, the legion cavalry advanced on him a third time, in rapid charge, in full view of their commander-in-chief, and still smarting from his pungent censure; but in vain. Another fire from the American marksmen killed several of their officers, wounded Major Hanger, and repulsed them again with increased confusion.

"The main body of the British being now within musket-shot, the American leader abandoned the contest.

"That they might, if possible, recover some portion of the laurels of which they had this day been shorn, Colonel Tarleton's dragoons attempted to disturb Colonel DAVIE in his retreat. But the latter, choosing his ground, wheeled on them with so fierce and galling a fire, that they again fell back, and troubled him no further.

"It was by strokes like these that he seriously crippled and intimidated his enemy, acquired an elevated standing in the estimation of his friends, and served very essentially the interests of freedom. With the resolution of Sumpter, and the coolness and military policy of Marion, he exhibited in his character a happy union of the high qualities of those two officers."*

After being engaged in several minor actions, he was, on the fatal sixteenth of August, on his way to join General Gates, when he met our dispersed troops. Notwithstanding the defeat, he hastened forward towards the battle-ground, and by his prudence and zeal not only checked the pursuit, but saved several wagons, one of which most fortunately contained the hospital stores and medicine chest. Justly apprehensive of the danger to which General Sumpter would be exposed by this catastrophe, he instantly despatched a courier to that officer, communicating what had transpired, and advising him to retire to Charlotte.

Shortly after the appointment of General Greene to the command of the southern army, finding great difficulty in managing the commissary department, arising from the unsettled state of the country, its almost entire exhaustion by the interruption to agriculture, and the support of the English and American forces, he sent for Colonel DAVIE to his camp, and requested him to take charge of that department: adding, that he knew Colonel DAVIE was then in command of a veteran band, with which he had acquired much reputation as a partisan officer; and he was confident he would be unwilling to relinquish a command in which he was sure of high distinction, and accept one in the civil staff of the army. He then laid open to him the situation of the American army, assuring him they must disband unless *he* would undertake their support; that if he wished to save his country, he could in no way do it so effectually; concluding with this handsome compliment: "From the best information, I am con-

* Caldwell's Life of General Greene.

vinced that you alone, colonel, can save us." Thus solicited by that great and good man, he disbanded his volunteers, thereby giving up all chance of personal distinction for the public interest. From that time he was a member of the general's family, and was with him during his celebrated retreat through North Carolina. During this retreat, the American general had almost insurmountable difficulties to encounter, from the inclement season of the year, and the wretched condition of the troops, without blankets, shoes, or clothes. From the absence of Colonel Carrington at this time, Colonel DAVIE had the double duty of quarter-master and commissary to perform, while the rapid retreat of the army greatly augmented the difficulties of his situation.

The retreat terminated on passing Dan River, where Colonel Carrington joined the army, and personally superintended its passage across that stream, for which he had made the best possible arrangements. Colonel DAVIE remained with the army at the south till the exhausted state of the country induced General Greene to send him to meet the legislature of North Carolina, under the hope that he could prevail on that body to fill up their lines, and make some arrangements for the support of the army in South Carolina. On Colonel DAVIE'S visit to Carolina, he was furnished with letters to Governor Nash, General Allen Jones, and M. Willis Jones, to whom he made a true statement of the necessities of the southern army, and succeeded in convincing them of the importance of energetic measures, and inducing them to exert their utmost influence on the legislature. It was this united influence which led them to pass a law, laying what was termed the specific tax. The legislature at the same time made Colonel DAVIE commissioner for its collection and distribution, which, involving important and multifarious duties, forced him to resign his situation as commissary to the southern army, an arrangement to which General Greene consented, as it placed all the resources of North Carolina at the disposal of an officer in whom he had the highest confidence. By this law a tax was laid on every county in the state, and a commissioner was authorized to receive the produce of the country, and apply the same as he deemed for the public good.

For this purpose Colonel DAVIE appointed a sub-commissioner in each county, whose duty it was to take charge of the tobacco, corn, pork, and beeves, which were collected at various depots, and held subject to the orders of the commissioner-general, who was to apply the same to the pay and support of the governor and the general assem-

bly, and the balance to the support of the army. This was a law that imposed arduous duties on the commissioner, and seemed to involve an endless detail of barter, contract, collection, and distribution. It was first necessary to ascertain what a county could best pay; if in tobacco, this was considered almost as cash, it being always possible to barter it with the merchants; if in beeves, they were driven to some place where they could be most easily maintained, and, when necessary, killed and salted for public use, or driven to the army or legislature, as both were to be fed by the commissioner. The same course was pursued when the tax was paid in hogs; corn was collected in depots, and issued under orders of the commissioner. All troops stationed in the state, or marching through it, were supplied by the commissioner, so that he had accounts to settle not only with his own deputies, but with all the officers, civil and military; in addition to which were accounts with almost every merchant in the state. In time of peace, the duties of such an officer would require incessant application, and indefatigable industry; but war and general distress greatly enhanced the difficulties. In 1783, the law laying the specific tax expired, when Colonel DAVIE, having settled his accounts as commissioner, retired from public service, and with the peace commenced the practice of law. About this time he was married to Miss Sarah Jones, daughter of General Allen Jones of North Carolina, and selected the town of Roanoke for his residence.

During the revolution, business had accumulated on the dockets from the unsettled state of the country; and many, whose crimes had rendered them obnoxious to the laws, were now to be tried; among the first of these was the noted Colonel Bryan, of Rowan. This man had raised a force of seven hundred men, and with them joined the British army. These troops had been routed and cut in pieces at the battle of Hanging Rock. On his trial at Salisbury, he selected Colonel DAVIE as his counsel, although but just come to the bar. This trial excited much interest, from the previous good standing of the criminal, and the respectability of his connections. The effort made to save him soon rendered Colonel DAVIE the most popular advocate in the state for the defence of criminals; and during the fifteen years he practised at the bar, not a man was tried for a capital offence at any court at which he practised, whom he was not called on to defend. This high rank as a lawyer was united with equal standing as a gentleman, in consequence of which he was returned as a member to the legislature of North Carolina, from the borough of Halifax, for many years, without opposition. In that body he took an active and efficient part

in all the important business which came before the legislature. The statute books of the state are records of his wisdom. The university of North Carolina constitutes one of the benefits resulting from his labors; for notwithstanding that institution was advocated by all the talent and worth of the state, yet its interests in the legislature were almost exclusively intrusted to Colonel DAVIE. Little experience is necessary to convince any man of the pertinacity with which ignorance and prejudice will oppose every attempt at the dissemination of knowledge. There is in all legislatures a certain set of politicians, who array themselves against all liberal measures, feeling that they must lose all consequence in the general diffusion of learning; these opposed every measure that was introduced for the benefit of the institution, and it required both talents and address to succeed against them; but he did succeed, and the friends of learning and virtue now view the institution with a just pride, as the honor and ornament of the state.

Colonel DAVIE was now appointed Major General in the militia of North Carolina.

When it became apparent to all that the old confederation was not calculated to advance the interest of the union, and that the blessings of the revolution were likely to be lost from the imbecility of the general government, the states determined to assemble a convention at Philadelphia to amend the constitution. General DAVIE was chosen a member of that convention from North Carolina, and made one of that venerable body whose joint labors produced the federal constitution. By an article in that instrument, it became necessary for the same to be ratified in each state by conventions called for the purpose. General DAVIE was again chosen a member of that convention. Here he was aided by the late amiable Judge Iredel, who rendered all the assistance that could be derived from worth, talents, and learning. Their united efforts proved vain, and the constitution was rejected. A second convention called to reconsider it, ratified the constitution, and North Carolina became a member of the union. It may afford matter for surprise that General DAVIE's name does not appear to that great instrument. Various reasons have been assigned, but it was simply this, that illness in his family called him home before the labors of the convention were concluded.

In the winter of 1799, General DAVIE was chosen governor of the state. He was not, however, permitted to remain long in that station; his country had higher claims on his talents and services. He resigned that office to proceed as minister to France, associated with

Oliver Ellsworth, Chief Justice of the United States, and W. V. Murray, Esq., our resident at the Hague.

They arrived in France shortly after the revolution, which placed all power in the hands of Bonaparte. Little difficulty was experienced in adjusting our differences with that government, excepting those that resulted from the absence of the first consul with the army, which for a time suspended all negotiations. Late in 1800, they concluded a treaty with the consular government of France, the negotiations of which were conducted by Joseph Bonaparte, Count of Survilliers, with Messrs. Rederer and Fleurieux.

General DAVIE contemplated the character of Bonaparte with great attention. He saw him often, and conversed with him freely. He considered him a man of first rate talents as a warrior, and of great reach as a statesman; but he regarded him also as a man of unbounded ambition, restrained by no principles, human or divine. On one occasion, after an interesting conversation, Bonaparte concluded by saying, that he considered power as the only foundation of right: "*Enfin, Monsieur, la force est droit.*" General DAVIE's opinion of him was afterwards verified by his assumption of imperial and despotic power.

Shortly after his return to America, General DAVIE lost his wife, a lady of lofty mind and exemplary virtues, to whom he was greatly attached; and soon after he removed to a fine estate at Tivoli, near Landsford, beautifully situated on the Catawba river in South Carolina, where he had long cultivated a plantation. As a farmer he was active and intelligent. Deploring the wasteful system of farming in the southern states, which exhausts the land without returning any thing to it, he endeavored to improve it by the use of manures, rotation of crops, and rest to the land. On the formation of an agricultural society at Columbia, he was appointed president, and delivered an address, which, for purity of style, sound observation, and clear exposition of the proper course of agriculture for this country, has never been excelled.

"Some years after General DAVIE'S retreat to his farm, the belligerent governments of France and England, each of which had endeavored to involve our country as a party in their quarrel, multiplied their aggressions on the commerce of the United States to such an extent, as to furnish just cause of war against both; and it was even seriously proposed in Congress to declare war against both. Finding, however, that such a course would expose the commerce of the country to the rapacity of both nations, it was abandoned, but

with strong declarations that the conduct of France and England gave us the right to choose our enemy. That choice was made, and it fell upon Great Britain. In the formation of the army for the defence of the country in this emergency, the government, laying aside party distinctions, selected General DAVIE as one of the officers best fitted to be intrusted with a high command. Though dissatisfied with some of the measures of the administration, he felt that as a citizen he was bound to defend his country whenever it was in danger, however brought on it. But the wounds received in the revolutionary war, and the rheumatism, which had become fixed on his constitution, incapacitated him for the exertions which his high sense of duty would have exacted from him as a commander. He, therefore, after much hesitation, declined the proffered honor."

General DAVIE continued to reside at his beautiful seat on the banks of the Catawba, to which travellers and visiters were constantly attracted by his hospitality, his dignified manners, and elevated character. He occasionally made excursions to the warm springs for relief from the harassing disease which afflicted and wasted him. On these visits he was greatly admired by the intelligent strangers who resorted there. The affability of his deportment gave access to all. But no person approached him, however distinguished by his talents or character, who did not speedily feel that he was in the presence of a superior man. The ignorant and the learned, the weak and the wise, were all instructed and delighted by the irresistible charms of his conversation.

"At home, General DAVIE was the friend of the distressed, the safe counsellor of the embarrassed, and the peace-maker of all. He had a deep and even awful sense of God and his providence, and was attached to the principles and doctrines of Christianity."

In person he was tall and finely proportioned, his figure erect and commanding, his countenance possessing great expression, and his voice full and energetic. He died in 1820, at the age of sixty-five, of cold taken on his return from the springs. He met death with the firmness of a soldier, and of a man conscious of a life well spent. The good he did survives him; and he has left a noble example to the youth of his country, to encourage and to stimulate them in the honorable career of virtue and of exertion. May it be appreciated and followed!

JOHN PAUL JONES.

WHILE ideas of boldness and intrepidity are associated in the minds of most of our countrymen with the name of "*Paul Jones*," they are yet blended in some measure with the qualities which we are apt to ascribe to the character of the reckless adventurer and the bold buccaneer. These impressions are derived from the traditions of enemies, whose pride he mortified in legitimately and victoriously, fighting the battles of America, and from the idle legends which were, for a time, hawked about the country. As he had no relatives on this side of the Atlantic, to protect his fame from mercenary abuse, the current of error had run long without any effort to interrupt it. The mystery, which hung about his reputation, is now, however, yielding to the sober light of truth; and instead of the irregular meteor, which excited our wonder by its transient glare, we behold him, a brilliant and steady star, shining in honor and in glory, conspicuously in the constellation of our revolutionary worthies.

JOHN PAUL JONES was born on the 6th of July, 1747, at Arbigland, in the south of Scotland. His father, John Paul, kept a public garden. Our hero was the fifth child. He early evinced a passion for a sailor's life, and, at the age of twelve years, was bound apprentice to a Scotch merchant engaged in the American trade. At the age of nineteen, having been released from his indentures, he became the chief mate of a brig belonging to Whitehaven. The nefarious traffic in human flesh, in which she was soon employed, induced him to abandon her in disgust. He returned to Scotland in 1768, as a passenger in the brig John. On the voyage, the captain and the mate both died of fever, and, there being no one on board so capable of navigating the vessel, Paul was invested with the command, and brought her safely into port. For this well-timed piece of service, he was appointed by the owners to be master and supercargo. He made several voyages in this capacity, when he was transferred to the command of a London ship in the West India trade. In the year 1773, we find him in

Virginia, arranging the estate of an elder brother, William, who had settled at Fredericksburg, and had died there intestate, and without issue. About this period, he added the name *Jones* to his patronymic. The reason for this step has never been known.

A peaceful and quiet life in America, for which country he had, even at an earlier day, shown a decided predilection, would seem, from some of his letters, to have been, at this period, the leading object of his hopes; but the revolutionary spirit which infused itself into so many noble minds, startled him from this dream of repose; and when congress, as early as December 22d, 1775, designated a number of captains and lieutenants for a naval armament in the Delaware, to aid in "the defence of American liberty, and the repelling every hostile invasion thereof," we observe the name of JOHN PAUL JONES at the head of the list of the first class of lieutenants. He was ordered to the Alfred of thirty guns, Commodore Hopkins, on board of which ship at Philadelphia, he himself hoisted the flag of America, being the first time, as he averred, that it was raised on board of a public vessel in commission from the continental congress. The squadron sailed from the Delaware early in 1776, and having visited the Bahama Islands, and captured some cannon at New Providence, returned in the spring. In May, JONES was assigned to the command of the Providence of twelve guns. He made a cruise in her in the summer, and by his vigour and resolution, in the capture and destruction of the enemy's property, gave an earnest of his future distinguished career. In October, 1776, when the grade of naval captains was established by congress, he received a full commission as one of the number. In November, he sailed from Providence, in charge of the Alfred frigate, the Providence brig being also under his orders. With several valuable prizes, including a large ship with soldier's clothing, he arrived at Boston in December.

He had now acquired the entire confidence of the marine committee of congress; and plans for active employment were earnestly discussed. It was not, however, till the autumn of 1777, that another vessel could be equipped. He sailed in the Ranger, of eighteen guns, and proceeded to Brest, where after some negotiation, exhibiting much adroitness on his part, he obtained a salute from the commander of the French fleet. This circumstance is worthy of being mentioned, as the treaty of alliance had not been promulgated, and it was the first notice of the kind which the American flag had received. It would be impossible, within our allotted space, to follow him through all his adventures after leaving Brest. The boldness of his character was,

however, strikingly exhibited in his attempt to fire the shipping of Whitehaven, in the north of England. Wherever he was personally present, success attended his exertions. With a few men, he spiked all the cannon of two of the forts, the sentinels being first secured in their own guard-house. Much of the shipping was burned, and accident alone, at a point distant from him, prevented the annihilation of the whole, amounting to more than two hundred vessels. He justified this, and other similar attacks, upon the principle of retaliation for the destruction of private property by the British troops in America.

Off Carrickfergus, on the southern coast of Scotland, on the 24th of April, 1778, he had an engagement with the British sloop of war Drake, of twenty guns. She had been fitted out with more than her full complement of officers and men, expressly to capture his ship. After a severe, close, and obstinate action of an hour, she was herself compelled to strike her colors. JONES carried his prize in triumph into France.

It was the day before this fight, that he landed at St. Mary's Isle with one boat and a small party, and an affair took place which was subsequently much misrepresented, but which called into action some noble properties in the chief of the expedition. Believing that the capture of the Earl of Selkirk, who resided there, would enable Congress to obtain more equal terms in the exchange of prisoners, his object was to take his lordship on board of the Ranger. The absence of this nobleman defeated the scheme; but the men, remembering the scenes of devastation occasioned by British troops in the United States, and disregarding the restraints of a wholesome discipline, carried away the family plate. It was publicly acknowledged by the earl, that beyond this mere act, no violence or rudeness was committed. JONES transmitted from Brest a communication to the countess, in which, among other things, he informed her of his intention to become the purchaser of the articles when sold, and that he would gratify his own feelings by replacing them, by such conveyance as she should please to direct. This epistle, which was long and somewhat romantic in its style, yet afforded proof that JONES had cultivated to a considerable extent the graces of composition. Dr. Franklin spoke of it as "a gallant letter, which must give her ladyship a high opinion of the writer's generosity and nobleness of mind." It is to be added, to the honor of JONES, that though there were much difficulty and a large expenditure attending it, he yet accomplished his purpose of restoring the plate in its original condition. He received a formal acknowledgment from Lord Selkirk upon the subject.

After his arrival in France from this splendid and heroic cruise, he was doomed to a series of vexations and disappointments, extremely trying to his temper, his fortitude, and his patriotism. The situation of the American commissioners was surrounded by perplexities. With limited authority, and contracted means, they sensibly felt the want of that credit which a public recognition of them by the court of Versailles, could it then have taken place, would at once have conferred. JONES encountered great embarrassment in providing for the maintenance of his crew and the large number of his prisoners, and was compelled to meet the crisis by such expedients as were furnished by his individual resources and address. At one period, his spirits were cheered, and his ambition animated, by a suggestion from his sincere friend, Dr. Franklin, of a prospect of the command of a large ship just built for congress at Amsterdam. This, and some other schemes for efficient and adventurous service, agitated between JONES, Dr. Franklin, and the French minister of marine, were ultimately counteracted by circumstances utterly beyond the enterprising captain's control.

After the most persevering efforts for several months, he obtained, as the best thing which the condition of our affairs abroad allowed, the charge of an old vessel, the *Duc de Duras*. He had been kept waiting in the sea-ports, month after month, in a state of harrassing solicitude, under repeated promises, which the French minister seemed to make only to disappoint him, until at last he proceeded in person to court, when he procured the means of early employment. In allusion to this step, he having authority to give a new name to the ship, called her "Le Bon Homme Richard," in compliment to a saying of Dr. Franklin, in his *Poor Richard*, "If you would have your business done, come yourself; if not, send."

In August, 1779, Commodore JONES put to sea in the Bon Homme Richard, with six other vessels, the whole forming a squadron under his command. After a successful cruise off the coast of Ireland, he sailed with the Pallas, of thirty-two guns, and the Vengeance, of sixteen guns, to the eastern coast of Scotland, and made a daring demonstration upon the town of Leith. He passed up the Frith in sight of Edinburgh, till he was almost within gun-shot of Leith, where there were several armed vessels, when a violent gale of wind came on directly ahead, and notwithstanding the most vigorous and determined efforts, obliged him to bear away and go to sea. JONES had prepared a letter to the town authorities, referring to "the unmanly violation and rapacity that had marked the tracks of British tyranny in America," and demanding "a contribution towards a reimbursement." His plan

was so admirably laid, and so ably prosecuted, that nothing but the overwhelming force of the elements could have defeated it.

A few days after this attempt, the celebrated battle between the Bon Homme Richard and the British frigate Serapis was fought. On the 23d of September, 1779, about seven o'clock in a clear moon light evening, JONES met the enemy off Flamborough-head, on the north-east of England, in the view of hundreds of the inhabitants of the neighboring coast. The Serapis was a new ship of forty-four guns, with a picked crew. She was vastly superior to the American ship, in her model, size, and strength, in the extent of her batteries, in weight of metal, and in the number, quality, and discipline of her men. When within half pistol shot, the enemy hailed JONES, who answered with a whole broadside. The action raged with incessant fury, till the enemy's bowsprit coming over the Bon Homme Richard's poop by the mizenmast, JONES, with his own hand, seized the ropes that hung from the enemy's bowsprit, and made them fast to his own ship. The Serapis swung round, so that the ships lay square along side of each other, the stern of the enemy close to the bow of the Bon Homme Richard. In this situation the combat was continued for some hours, with a spirit of determined bravery on both sides that seemed to threaten mutual extermination. At length the mainmast of the Serapis began to shake, and her firing to decrease. The Americans fought with renewed vigor. As his mainmast went by the board, the enemy struck his colors at about half past ten o'clock.

Some of the incidents of this engagement have been necessarily incorporated in our sketch of the life of Commodore Dale, who was JONES'S first lieutenant, and most nobly and heroically sustained his commander in this desperate conflict, as upon other memorable occasions. Lieutenant Dale asked for and obtained leave to board the prize. He found Captain Pearson and his first lieutenant on the quarterdeck. The English lieutenant supposed the Bon Homme Richard had struck, but being soon undeceived on this point, was sent with his captain on board the victorious ship.

The loss of each party in killed and wounded was extremely heavy, The Bon Homme Richard was so much damaged, that it was deemed unsafe to risk the experiment of carrying her into port. Her crew were transferred to the captured vessel, which in a few days arrived at the Texel. The Bon Homme Richard sunk the day after the contest.

When the Serapis was first seen, she and the Countess of Scarborough, a twenty-gun ship, had under convoy a large fleet of merchantmen from the Baltic. During the action between the Serapis and the

Bon Homme Richard, the Pallas engaged the Countess of Scarborough, at a considerable distance from them, and after an action of an hour, captured her. The frigate Alliance had parted from JONES off the coast of Ireland. Captain Landais, her commander, had before this occasioned JONES much trouble and mortification. Whether his bad conduct proceeded from insanity, or from a combination of eccentricity, vanity, jealousy, and avarice, are points of little importance at this period. On the day of the battle, he had joined the squadron, but paid no regard to the signals of the commodore. He kept out of the way, until a short time before the Serapis struck her flag, when there being no possibility of mistaking the ships, he approached and poured a full broadside into the stern of the Bon Homme Richard. He then passed round her, firing into her head, broadside and stern, and killing several of her men. It was afterwards fully proved, that Landais had previously declared it to be his object, to compel the Bon Homme Richard to strike to the enemy, so that he could retake her, and capture the Serapis.

The enterprise, skill, and bravery, which had marked the recent course of JONES, attracted the attention of Europe and America. England was incensed at the boldness of his operations, carried on directly under her own eyes, and was mortified at his splendid successes. The British minister at the Hague, in a particular manner, and a large portion of the newspaper press in Britain, labored hard to suppress his growing reputation, by coarsely but vainly endeavoring to brand him with the epithets of rebel, renegade, and pirate; while France and the United States, recognising him as the lawfully commissioned officer of congress, and the legitimate champion of American independence, loudly rejoiced in the nobleness of his conquests, and in the blaze of his renown.

He soon left the Texel in the Alliance frigate. After a display of daring seamanship, taunting the British fleet in the North Sea, passing through the Straits of Dover, and afterwards by the Isle of Wight, in view of large naval forces of the enemy; he made a visit to Spain, and having protected some American vessels bound to Bordeaux, arrived at L'Orient in March, 1780. He proceeded to Paris. During his absence, Landais, backed by some of our public functionaries abroad, who were hostile to JONES, managed, by an intrigue which JONES could not at the moment defeat, to regain the temporary command of the Alliance. It may be proper here to remark, that Landais was afterwards tried for his repeated misconduct, and dismissed from the service. The general belief in his insanity saved him from a severer punishment.

JONES was treated with flattering consideration by the most distinguished persons in Paris. He was favored by the king with a tender of the cross of military merit, and received from his Majesty a present of a magnificent gold mounted sword, bearing this inscription: MARIS LUDOVICUS XVI. REMUNERATOR STRENUO VINDICI.

He returned to America in the ship Ariel of twenty guns. He encountered a violent storm off the coast of France, of which he speaks in several of his letters. In one of them he says: "I believe no vessel was ever saved from an equal danger off Penmarque rocks." After putting into L'Orient under jury-masts to refit, he sailed again, and had a brief but brilliant engagement with the British armed ship Triumph, of twenty guns, which terminated in the surrender of the enemy. After begging for and obtaining quarter, the British captain availed himself of a favorable breeze, and while the crew of the Ariel were exulting in their victory, filled his sails, and bore away. As the Englishman had greatly the advantage in sailing, JONES could not hinder his escape. This conduct was a gross violation of the laws of naval war, and of the usages of civilized nations.

Commodore JONES arrived in Philadelphia in February, 1781, after an absence from the United States of more than three years. His reception was most gratifying to his ambition and his pride. Congress immediately adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the congress entertain a high sense of the distinguished bravery and military conduct of JOHN PAUL JONES, Esquire, captain in the navy of the United States, and particularly in his victory over the British frigate Serapis on the coast of England, which was attended with circumstances so brilliant as to excite general applause and admiration.

"*Resolved*, That the minister plenipotentiary of these United States communicate to his Most Christian Majesty, the high satisfaction congress has received from the conduct and gallant behaviour of Captain JOHN PAUL JONES, which have merited the attention and approbation of his Most Christian Majesty; and that his majesty's offer of adorning Captain JONES with a cross of military merit, is highly acceptable to congress."

The French minister, at a fête given by him in honor of JONES, accordingly invested him, in the name of his majesty, with the superior military order just mentioned.

The board of admiralty instituted a searching inquiry into the whole of JONES's transactions abroad. The board pronounced an opinion, "That ever since he first became an officer in the navy of these states,

he hath shown an unremitted attention in planning and executing enterprises calculated to promote the essential interests of our glorious cause;" and further, "That his conduct merited some distinguished mark of approbation from the United States in congress assembled." On the 14th of April it was, by congress, "*Resolved*, That the thanks of the United States in congress assembled be given to Captain JOHN PAUL JONES, for the zeal, prudence, and intrepidity, with which he has supported the honor of the American flag; for his bold and successful enterprises to redeem from captivity the citizens of the states, who have fallen under the power of the enemy; and in general, for the good conduct and eminent services by which he has added lustre to his character, and to the American arms."

He was assigned to the charge of the America of seventy-four guns, about to be launched at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Great delay occurred in getting her ready for sea, notwithstanding his personal attention. The capture of the army under Lord Cornwallis in the course of this year, rendered it unnecessary to employ her at once. She was afterwards presented by congress to France, to supply the loss, in the harbor of Boston, of a seventy-four gun-ship belonging to the French squadron. With a view to enlarge the sphere of his professional knowledge, he procured the consent of congress to join the French fleet on a projected expedition against Jamaica. He was received on board of the Triumphante, Vice Admiral the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and reached the West Indies, when the news of the general peace occasioned his return to Philadelphia.

Having been appointed by congress agent for all prizes taken in Europe by vessels under his orders, he proceeded to France. After a negotiation of two years' duration, he obtained a liquidation and payment of the amount due there to himself, his officers, and men. He now prepared a journal of his past career, and presented a copy to the King.

He made a short visit to the United States in the year 1787; and after some further investigation of his accounts, congress conferred upon him a transcendent honor, by resolving on the 11th of October, "That a *medal of gold* be struck and presented to the Chevalier PAUL JONES, in commemoration of the valor and brilliant services of that officer; and that the Hon. Mr. Jefferson, minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of Versailles, have the same executed, with the proper devices."

In December he returned to Europe. He was intrusted with the settlement of some disputed points in regard to certain prizes which

had been sent into Denmark, and, after much energetic exertion, accomplished the object of his mission. While at Copenhagen in 1788, he had an offer through the Russian minister, which demonstrated the height to which his naval reputation had reached throughout Europe. The empress desired to secure his talents in an important command, against the Turks, in the Black Sea. With a stipulation that he was never to renounce the title of an American citizen, nor to be employed against France, he received from the czarina the appointment of rear admiral.

We have now given a very general and imperfect delineation,—a mere outline,—of his most prominent and obvious achievements in the glorious cause of American liberty. We have been obliged, by our contracted limits, to omit even an abridged account of his various negotiations, and his extensive correspondence. As our business is principally with him as an officer of our own country, we cannot enter into a detail of his conduct as an officer in a foreign navy. It may be enough to remark, that after displaying his great abilities in performing much effective and hazardous duty in the Liman, under the temporary influence of the warm approbation of the empress, it was his misfortune, by the freedom of his correspondence, to arouse the deep displeasure of the pampered and powerful favorite, Potemkin. As this prince was the only medium through which the rays of imperial sunshine were distributed, the rear admiral was withdrawn from the theatre of his activity, with a delusive intimation of employment in the North Sea. How much the jealousy and envy of Russians and Englishmen, who were officers in the same fleet, contributed to this result, it would be useless to inquire. The promise of another squadron was never redeemed. Though he subsequently received the ceremonious notice of her majesty, yet the frankness and sincerity which marked his deportment, prevented him from ever recovering the elevated ground which he had occupied at the court of St. Petersburgh.

He passed the rest of his life in Europe. After a year of ill health, he died at Paris on the 18th of July, 1792, aged forty-five years. The government of the United States had not forgotten him. President Washington designated him for the important trust of treating with the Dey of Algiers on the subjects of peace and the ransom of American captives. His credentials reached Paris after he had paid the debt of nature.

If JONES had some enemies among the Americans abroad, it is due to his memory to record, that the most conspicuous of them were ranked among his admirers, when his motives and actions became

thoroughly understood. If the prëeminent favor with which he was noticed at foreign courts quickened the animosity of courtiers, who imagined their consequence to be injuriously affected by his exaltation, he had the proud satisfaction of realizing in the United States, the friendship of many of the first citizens; and of enjoying, in Europe, the unbounded esteem and ready assistance of such men as Franklin, Jefferson, and Lafayette.

To attribute to him the ordinary properties of heroism, would be but a small part of his praise. He had not merely the nerve to execute the most daring exploits, but the genius to conceive and plan the grandest schemes, whether of adventure for himself, or of benefit to his country. Had his means as an American captain been commensurate with his aspirations, in reference to personal distinction and national advantage, he would unquestionably have extended the high reputation which he won in the charge of a comparatively small force, until it rivalled the celebrity of the chiefs most renowned in the history of enlarged naval warfare.

His personal character was at times the object of much envenomed slander; but it came out of the ordeal to which it was repeatedly exposed, refined and brightened by collision. That he was irritable in his temper, and not always controlled by the dictates of sound discretion, may be admitted; but his share of the infirmities incident to humanity, carried with it at least a correspondent portion of the crosses and disappointments of life; and those who knew him best bear testimony to the liberality of his disposition, the uprightness of his purposes, and the purity of his honor.

Such men were required by our country in the time of her utmost need. Had higher rewards and honors than she conferred been at her command, they would have been bestowed. She treated him as one of those illustrious men, whom she regarded as having rendered the most eminent and enduring service; and his vindicated fame will live as long as her revolutionary story shall exist in the records, or dwell in the memory of mankind.

RICHARD DALE.

JUSTICE has not been done to the naval heroes of our revolution. Some of the most patriotic spirits of that eventful period, employed their noblest energies, in maintaining on the ocean, the interests and the honor of their country. The glory of their achievements was enhanced by the circumstance, that with means feeble, inadequate and uncertain, they contended against the highest naval reputation, the best appointed forces, and the most exact state of discipline. Though the fitting memorial has never yet been inscribed, it shall not be for want of the becoming disposition or the requisite exertions, if our work does not to a considerable extent, rescue from oblivion, those occurrences worthy of remembrance and praise, which belong to this portion of our nation's annals.

RICHARD DALE was born on the 6th day of November, 1756, in Norfolk county, Virginia. He was descended from a highly respectable family. His parents were both natives of Virginia. His father left five children, of whom RICHARD was the eldest. Having manifested a strong predilection for the sea, RICHARD was allowed, at twelve years of age, to enter on board a vessel commanded by his uncle, with whom he made a voyage to Liverpool and back. Subsequently, he made several voyages to the West Indies, and in 1775, when nineteen years of age, was chief officer of a valuable brig. He had early and various experience of the hazards of a sailor's life. Among other mishaps, he was on one occasion knocked overboard by the jib sheets, in the night, and after being several hours in the water, with no aid but such as a hencoop afforded, was with much difficulty, after day-light, rescued by his own vessel. He remained in the merchant service till the spring of 1776. The revolutionary fervor was now excited. The best of the youthful blood of the land was roused. Our young sailor is accordingly presented to us early in 1776, as a lieutenant of a vessel of war belonging to Virginia. While on public duty in James river, in a small craft, he was captured by a tender of

the Liverpool frigate; he was carried to Norfolk, put on board a prison-ship, and confined there for several weeks.

It was in the summer of 1776, however, that he commenced his career as an officer of the United States navy, in the character of a midshipman on board of the brig Lexington, Captain John Barry. A rapid review of some of the incidents of this portion of his life, will exhibit him, though but a youth, and then in subordinate stations, as eminently entitled to distinction, for able seamanship, dauntless courage, ardent love of country, perilous adventure, bold and daring exploits, and the sufferings and anxieties of wounds and captivity.

The Lexington sailed in the autumn of 1776, for Cape François, and a cruise, under the orders of Captain Hallock, the gallant Barry having been appointed to the command of a frigate. In December, 1776, the Lexington was captured by the Liverpool frigate off the capes of Virginia. In consequence of a sudden gale, the captors could take out only the captain and five of the crew, DALE, then acting as master's mate, being one of the number. The officers and crew who remained on board, retook the brig, and carried her to Baltimore. DALE was landed with some of his fellow prisoners, at Cape Henlopen, in January, 1777. He immediately repaired to Philadelphia, where he was ordered to join the Lexington again, now commanded by Captain Henry Johnson. His vessel proceeded to Bordeaux with despatches, having made a short passage and taken many valuable prizes. At Nantes, she joined a small squadron, consisting of the ship Reprisal of sixteen guns, Captain Wicks, and a cutter of ten four pounders, Captain Samuel Nicholson. These three vessels under the orders of Captain Wicks, sailed on a cruise in May, 1777, took and sunk many prizes, and did great injury to the coasting trade of the British Islands. After a narrow escape from an English seventy-four, they reached French ports.

The Lexington sailed from Morlaix for the United States, in September, 1777. On the 19th of that month, she encountered an English cutter of superior force. Some of the higher officers employed by congress in the naval service, were without the kind of experience which alone confers that knowledge of the discipline of a man of war, which is indispensable to success in battle. This deficiency was severely felt in the early part of this engagement. When the cutter commenced her fire, not a match was ready on board of the Lexington. DALE was one of her youngest officers, and could not have interfered. For some time the guns were fired by means of the muskets. When, however, the preparations were completed, the action

became warm in the extreme. In a dead calm it was maintained for nearly two hours, with the most determined resolution on both sides. Nothing but the same undaunted heroism which is now the acknowledged characteristic of American seamen, could have sustained the Lexington under her manifold and heavy disadvantages. The capture of the enemy was hardly to be hoped for, and a breeze springing up, the American commander, having expended almost his last shot, availed himself of the opportunity to crowd sail and get off. In this he succeeded for a time. In a few hours, however, the cutter overtook him. The action was renewed with increased obstinacy. Having used not only every shot, but all the iron and other articles which could be employed as a substitute for shot, the brig being reduced to a wreck, a large portion of the officers and many of the men killed, and many more severely wounded, the demands of honor all nobly satisfied, nothing remained but to spare the lives of the gallant survivors by acknowledging a conquest which belonged to the superior force of the enemy.

The cutter's advantage consisted not only in her full and complete equipments, but in the fact, that her crew was composed entirely of picked men. Few of the Lexington's officers or crew had ever been in an engagement. This hard fought and protracted battle, notwithstanding its issue, will therefore be regarded as reflecting credit on the American name. The good conduct of DALE was conspicuous throughout. He displayed the same admirable qualities which under better auspices subsequently led to victory and renown.

Captivity again awaited him. He not only suffered the mortification of being rendered useless to his country at a most momentous crisis, but was exposed in common with his fellow-prisoners to the indignity of treatment which was thought to be due to *rebels*. The contumely with which, on this and other occasions during the conflict, Americans in imprisonment were insulted, proved utterly impotent in regard to the object vainly expected from it. In invigorating patriotism, and strengthening the determination to resist oppression, it recoiled with tremendous power on the government which, to the disgrace of humanity, permitted it to be inflicted. After a rigorous examination at Plymouth, the surviving officers and crew of the Lexington were thrown into Mill prison, upon a charge of high treason. In this loathsome abode, their confinement for several months was unusual and cruel. Without uncontrovertible authority, we would not venture to make the assertion, that so scant and miserable was the supply of food, the Americans to sustain life, actually seized,

killed, and dressed a dog which accidentally found his way to them. So atrocious was this severity, that the private judgment and sympathy of English gentlemen revolted at the public conduct of those who in this matter were allowed unworthily to wield the authority of the nation. The complaint becoming general respecting the treatment of the American prisoners, a committee was appointed to inquire into the matter. A large sum of money was raised by private subscription. The government, thus awakened, sanctioned a visit of the committee to the prison. The result was that provisions, clothing, and every thing that could alleviate their sufferings, were furnished to the Americans. This benevolence so pure and liberal, this philanthropy so disinterested and practical, is mentioned with peculiar gratification. Counteracting the abuses of public authority, it dignified and ennobled human nature, and deserves to be faithfully recorded for universal applause and imitation.

Though grateful for being thus rendered as comfortable as a state of confinement would permit, DALE and his companions could not forget that they were prisoners of war, and that their country had need of their services. Hearing of no opportunity of an early exchange, they determined on attempting an escape. The plan having been concerted, Captain Johnson, young DALE, and a number of others, effected their purpose in February, 1778. They had with great secrecy, but most tediously and under apprehension of daily discovery, worked a hole under the wall. Being obliged to get rid of the gravel and earth, they managed to do it by putting it into their pockets, and, during the few minutes occasionally allowed for exercise on the wall, adroitly emptying them. After wandering about for more than a week, encountering difficulties and privations, they, to avoid detection, divided their company and pursued different routes. DALE and a single companion, after a variety of adventures, reached London. At one time they were secreted under the straw of a small outhouse, belonging to a cottage, while their pursuers, who had tracked them to the neighborhood, actually made what they deemed a thorough search of the building. At London they immediately embarked on board a trading vessel bound to Dunkirk. On the same day, while at anchor waiting for a change of the tide, an officer with a press-gang came on board and arrested them on suspicion of being prisoners from Mill prison. After examination they were recommitted to that place. Privileges and indulgences which had been formerly extended, were now denied. Forty days of rigid confinement in a dungeon denominated with peculiar fitness, "the black hole" was a part of their reward

for exerting, without the violation of any of the laws of God or man, the sacred right of self-preservation. After being once released from the gloom and the misery of this subterraneous prison-house, DALE was again made to taste its tender mercies, for allowing a little of his patriotic enthusiasm to escape his lips, mingled with the melody of what were termed rebellious songs.

He was at last indebted to his own prompt sagacity and persevering boldness for his relief. In February, 1779, after more than a year's captivity, imbittered as we have seen it was, he again escaped. He accomplished this by walking out of prison in the full uniform of a British officer, the guard having no suspicion of the truth, till DALE was enabled to elude pursuit. How he obtained this uniform remained a secret. He repaired without delay to London, and, by fortunate management and address, procured a passport to go to France. In a short time he arrived at L'Orient, where, with elate and buoyant spirit, he joined, in the character of master's mate, the renowned Paul Jones, then commanding the American ship "Bon Homme Richard."

This is a most interesting epoch in his life. He had hitherto contended with difficulties the most appalling, and adversities that would have subdued to despondency a mind less resolute and inflexible than his. He now beheld in the character of his commander a pledge of happier fortunes, and enjoyed in anticipation the brilliant career that awaited him.

After three months of constant employment in manning the Bon Homme Richard, in which great difficulty was experienced, DALE, at the age of twenty-two, was selected by the discriminating eye of Captain Jones to be his first lieutenant. How well he deserved the confidence thus bestowed, was abundantly demonstrated by the noble part which he took with his distinguished commander in a series of exploits, which for prowess and intrepidity surpass the fictions of poetry, and distance the marvels of romance.

The Bon Homme Richard sailed on a cruise in the summer of 1779, in company with the Alliance of thirty-six guns, the Pallas of thirty-two, the Vengeance brig of sixteen, and two or three smaller vessels, all under the command of Commodore Paul Jones. They cruised with great success for a time, off the western coast of Ireland, when it was determined that the Bon Homme Richard, the Pallas, and the Vengeance, should proceed to the north. An armed ship of twenty guns and two or three fine cutters were understood to be in Leith Roads. The town of Leith being designated as the first object of

attack, every disposition was made for taking the guard-ship and cutters, and landing troops. The ransom of £200,000 which Jones proposed to levy, was considered by him "as a contribution towards the reimbursement which Britain owed to the much injured citizens of America." After working up to windward till they were, on the 17th September, almost within gun shot of the town, a sudden and very severe gale of wind arose, and, being directly ahead, obliged them to run down the firth, and go to sea, having in vain endeavored to withstand the violence of the storm. This attempt, so skilfully and daringly pursued till baffled by circumstances beyond human calculation or control, has often been the subject of comment; and the sensation it occasioned is hardly yet forgotten on the coast of Fife. A renewal of the enterprise was out of the question, the alarm having reached Edinburgh, only a mile or two distant, whence troops could have been readily procured. The cruise, however, was marked by the destruction and capture of many valuable vessels, and proved a most serious annoyance to the enemy's trade.

It was on the 23d of September, 1779, that the engagement took place between the Bon Homme Richard and the Serapis, an English frigate. We have space but for a few of the details of this battle, which was certainly one of the most interesting ever fought, and, as has often been remarked, has probably no parallel in the history of naval warfare. Properly to appreciate the splendid victory achieved by the American arms, we must keep in view the great superiority of the enemy in the strength and construction of his vessel, the number of guns, the weight of metal, and the amount and discipline of his crew. The vessels met off Flamborough head, on the north-east coast of England, about seven o'clock in the evening, under a bright moon, and in sight of multitudes who watched the engagement from the shore. When within half pistol shot, the Bon Homme Richard was hailed from the Serapis, and Lieutenant DALE received orders to commence the action with a whole broadside. The battle was continued with the utmost fury. In an effort of Jones to lay his ship athwart the enemy's bow, the bowsprit of the Serapis came over the Bon Homme Richard's poop by the mizen-mast. The ships were then made fast together. The action of the wind forced the Serapis' stern close to the Bon Homme Richard's bow, so that the ships lay square along side of each other, the yards being all entangled, and in the language of Jones "the cannon of each ship touching the opponent's." In an account furnished long afterwards by DALE, he remarks, "a novelty in naval combats was now presented. The rammers were

run into the respective ships, to enable the men to load;" he adds, "In this situation the ships remained until between ten and eleven o'clock, P. M., when the engagement terminated by the surrender of the Serapis."

In the hottest of the fight, the master-at-arms of the Bon Homme Richard, under a belief that she was sinking, let loose all the prisoners, several hundred in number, who being greatly terrified, occasioned extreme confusion. The carpenter, too, reported the water in the pump-well to be up to his chin. Lieutenant DALE was ordered down to the lower deck, to see how near the water was to the lower ports. To allay the excessive alarm, he reported that she had not settled much in the water. At this moment also the sentinels at the magazine, seeing many strange faces, barred all access to it. Lieutenant DALE went below to ascertain the cause of their withholding the powder. He now for the first time knew that the prisoners had been let out. Having put matters right, he returned to his post on the deck.

The flag of the Serapis, which had been nailed to the mast, was struck by Captain Pearson's own hand. Upon observing that she had struck, DALE asked for and obtained permission to board her. Jumping upon the gunwale, he seized the main brace, and swung himself upon her quarter deck; he was the first man on board. Midshipman Mayant followed with a party of men, and was immediately run through the thigh with a boarding pike by some of the enemy stationed in the waist who were not informed of the surrender. Captain Pearson was passed over to the deck of the Bon Homme Richard. DALE received orders to cut loose the lashing, and follow Jones with the Serapis. DALE now found to his astonishment, that he had the use of only one of his legs. A splinter had badly wounded him, but during the excitement of the contest he had not perceived it. He directed another officer to follow with the Serapis, and was taken on board the Bon Homme Richard to have his wound dressed.

The slaughter on board of each ship was dreadful. The Bon Homme Richard was so much shattered, that it was necessary to abandon her. The next day she sunk, her crew having been transferred to the Serapis. The rest of the squadron arrived in a few days at the Texel.

Jones now took command of the Alliance, and made a short cruise in her, DALE being with him. This cruise afforded a bold display of the most extraordinary seamanship. The Alliance passed along the Flemish banks, and getting to windward of the enemy's fleets of

observation in the North Sea, the next day passed through the straits of Dover in full view of the fleet in the Downs. On the succeeding day she sailed near the Isle of Wight in view of the British squadron at Spithead, and in two days more got safe through the Channel, having passed to windward in sight of several of the enemy's large two-decked cruising ships. In March, 1780, they arrived at L'Orient. Notwithstanding that Captain Landais, the former commander of the Alliance, a man whose eccentricity approached, if it did not amount to, insanity, had been ordered to America for trial, for certain insubordinate conduct, which we have not room to detail, but which, both before and after this, occasioned Jones much vexation; he contrived to secure the influence of some one or two of our public functionaries abroad, who were not well disposed towards Jones; and, by means which Jones deemed unfair and illegal, regained, during his temporary absence, the command of the ship. DALE scornfully rejected Landais' proposal that he should join him; and not only adhered to his commander, but with the ardor of youthful indignation, offered to attempt a recovery of the vessel at the hazard of his life. Public considerations, however, induced Jones to prevent the serious consequences that would have resulted from such a step.

DALE returned to America in the Ariel, a twenty-gun ship commanded by Jones. During the voyage they had an encounter with the British armed ship Triumph, of twenty guns. After sustaining for a short time the vigorous fire of the Ariel's battery and tops, the Triumph struck her colors. This short cruise was full of hazardous incident. Before the battle, while they were off Penmarque rocks, a terrible ledge between L'Orient and Brest, a violent gale reduced them to such extremity of distress, that they were obliged to return to port under jury masts to refit. It was of this storm that Jones declared in one of his letters, that "till that night he did not fully conceive the awful majesty of tempest and shipwreck." To Dr. Franklin he wrote: "I owe the warmest thanks to the spirited and unremitting assistance of my officers, who behaved with a steady, composed courage, that does them the highest honor." Another cause of ceaseless anxiety was the heterogeneous character of a crew which had been shipped abroad with much difficulty. The detection of a conspiracy among a part of it, exacted unwearied vigilance. All the officers, and even the passengers, were constantly armed. The Ariel reached Philadelphia in February, 1781.

On the 14th of April, 1781, the thanks of congress were voted to Captain Jones, for "good conduct and eminent services," and to Lieu-

tenant DALE and his other associates, "for their steady affection to the cause of their country, and the bravery and perseverance they had manifested therein."

In the spring of 1781, DALE was most usefully employed with two public schooners in Delaware Bay, in successfully convoying the public stores to Philadelphia, and dispersing the marauding refugees who aimed at intercepting those supplies.

His services with Jones now closed. That extraordinary man and distinguished commander being at this period appointed to the charge of a seventy-four, then on the stocks to the northward, manifested his elevated opinion of his thoroughly-tried companion, by soliciting him to become again his first lieutenant. This proposal was declined by DALE, only from an apprehension, which proved well founded, that a long period of comparative inactivity would elapse before the ship could be got ready for sea.

In July of this year, DALE sailed from the capes of Delaware as lieutenant of the Trumbull frigate, Captain James Nicholson; when at sea but a few hours, they fell in with a British frigate and sloop of war. After a severe engagement in a dark and stormy night, the Trumbull, having been crippled by the gale, was compelled to strike her flag to a force so vastly superior. Lieutenant DALE was severely wounded in this rencounter. In a short time he was put on Long Island, a prisoner on parole: he was soon afterwards exchanged, and in November, 1781, returned to Philadelphia.

The government had now no occasion for his services. He accordingly obtained the command of a large merchant ship, "The Queen of France," mounting twelve six pounders, and sailed for L'Orient in the spring of 1782. On the passage he had a spirited conflict with a British privateer of fourteen guns, and succeeded in beating her off, both vessels sustaining very heavy damage. Captain DALE returned to Philadelphia in February, 1783.

Upon the conclusion of the peace, no provision being made for the navy or its gallant officers, Captain DALE turned his attention to commercial pursuits. In December, 1783, he sailed for London in command of a large ship in which he had become interested. From this period, until 1794, he was engaged in a lucrative East India business, several times making the voyage himself, in some of the finest ships of the day. In 1791, he married.

In 1794, he was selected by President Washington to be one of the six captains of the naval establishment, for which provision had just been made. He was the fourth in rank. He was appointed to super-

intend the construction of a large frigate at Norfolk. The government, however, having deferred building her, he obtained a furlough, and continued industriously engaged in the Canton trade, till 1798. At this period war with France was generally expected, and the government purchased several large vessels to be converted into ships of war. One of these, the Ganges, was assigned to Captain DALE, who had recently commanded her as a merchant-ship. After she was equipped for service, some misunderstanding arose with respect to rank. DALE obtained a furlough until the matter could be adjusted. On his return to Philadelphia in April, 1800, from a Canton voyage, he was happy to find the point of rank settled to his entire satisfaction. He now received orders to hold himself ready for important service, and in May, 1801, was appointed to command the squadron of observation, about to sail from Hampton roads to the Mediterranean.

Having hoisted his broad pendant on board the President, he sailed on the 1st of June, with the squadron, consisting of the President frigate, Captain James Barron, the Philadelphia frigate, Captain Samuel Barron, the Essex frigate, Captain William Bainbridge, and the schooner Enterprise, Lieutenant Andrew Sterrett. He found lying at Gibraltar, the High Admiral of Tripoli with a ship of twenty-six guns and two hundred and sixty men, and a brig of sixteen guns and one hundred and sixty men. These vessels had arrived only the day before. Although the admiral disclaimed any knowledge of hostile views on the part of the Bey his master, yet Commodore DALE formed and acted upon the opinion that he designed to cruise against American vessels in the Western ocean. The Philadelphia was accordingly ordered to lie off and on Gibraltar, to watch the Tripolitan, and if he ventured out, to capture him. In despair of eluding this vigilance, the admiral soon dismantled his ships, and discharged his crews. Authentic information obtained in the Mediterranean, placed beyond doubt, the hostile intentions of the Bey, and confirmed the propriety and value of the determination of the American commander.

A proper disposition having been made of the other vessels, with a view to the complete protection of the trade of his countrymen, the commodore repaired to Tripoli, and, after an unavailing correspondence with the Bey, kept up a strict blockade of the port. The arrival of this squadron in the Mediterranean was most opportune, as the Tripolitan corsairs had been directed to capture all American vessels. So efficient was the assistance afforded to the American trade, that not a single capture was made. In the summer of 1802, Commodore DALE arrived in Hampton roads.

Soundness of judgment, firmness of purpose, and sagacity of mind, were indispensable to the successful performance of this service. While the prevention of injury by a wily and treacherous power was a primary object of the expedition, it peculiarly belonged to the American commander to avoid the commission of any act of force, beyond the limits prescribed by the relative situation of his own nation. The obligation to blend a large portion of forbearance with the bold determination which marked the commodore's character, rendered the task one of delicacy and difficulty.

In this squadron and under the sailor-like accomplishments and thorough discipline of Commodore DALE, several of our gallant naval officers received their earliest instruction, and the noble stamp of seamanship which proved so true in the war of 1812.

In the fall of 1802, he received an order from the navy department, to hold himself in readiness to take command of the squadron which was to sail in the following spring for the Mediterranean. In the order he was informed that he could not have a captain under him in the flag ship as he had before. There were other officers not employed, whose ambition would have been gratified by the charge of this squadron. While DALE was therefore sensible of the honor conferred by the government, in thus selecting him a second time for the most important of our naval commands, he was conscious that a great sacrifice of the honor of the navy and of his own just pride would be made by his returning to the station in a less dignified character than he had before enjoyed. Nothing existed in the situation of his country to require such an offering, and finding the difficulty was not to be removed, he resigned his commission. He had the less hesitation on the subject, as there were able officers anxious for the service to whom the objection did not apply.

He spent the rest of his days in Philadelphia, in the enjoyment of universal respect and confidence. Amiable and generous in the relations of private life, as he had been faithful and distinguished in his country's dangerous service, he won esteem by the dignity of his personal demeanor, the strength of his intellectual qualities, the uprightness and liberality of his views, the sincerity and value of his friendship, and the frankness of his hospitality.

In the war of 1812, he witnessed two gallant sons ardently pursuing fame in the path which he himself had trod. His gratification at the victories in which they both participated, was, however, mingled with a parent's sacred sorrow for the touching loss of the object of affectionate pride who bore his name. This noble youth died at Bermuda of

wounds received in the engagement between the President frigate and a British squadron.

There is one trait of Commodore DALE's character which must not be omitted. He himself deemed it of far more importance than all of regard and reverence which this world could confer. He was eminently a pious man. Deeply impressed with the solemn truths of religion, he, many years before his death, made an open profession of his holy faith, and entered into full communion with the Episcopal Church. This was the result of no sudden and transient impulse. When in full health, and surrounded by all of earth's advantages which could contribute to render his life one of happiness and pleasure, he reviewed for himself the evidences of Christianity, pondered upon its truths, felt its sacred influences, and deliberately made his decision. Such examples deserve commemoration. By their freedom from the suspicion of insincerity or impurity, they silence the prejudices of mere worldlings, and by their peculiar force and beauty, they attract to the contemplation of the things which belong to our eternal peace.

His latter days were marked with tranquil cheerfulness. In the bosom of a family that was most dear to him, he was blessed with

> "All that should accompany old age,
> As honor, love, obedience;"

and on the 24th day of February, 1826, having reached his seventieth year, in the humble hope of a joyful resurrection through the atoning merits of his Redeemer, he resigned his purified spirit into the hands of that God, who, through so many perils and temptations, had mercifully protected and preserved him.

WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE.

THE rise and progress of the navy of the United States, may be distinctly traced in the lives of its distinguished captains. It sprung originally from the merchant service. The first armed vessels in the service were merchantmen hastily fitted out soon after the commencement of the revolution; their commanders were thorough-bred seamen, whose services were eminently useful to the cause of their country—much more so than they have ever had credited to them—and their actions ofttimes brilliant and worthy of commemoration. At the conclusion of the revolutionary war, many of our armed ships and their commanders again resumed their commercial character, and the American navy closed the first era of its history.

As our commerce extended and became an object of plunder to the belligerents of Europe and the freebooters of Africa, the necessity of affording it protection by a naval force became apparent, and the present navy of the United States began its existence; experienced officers were again recruited from the merchant service, some of whom are at the present day the pride of their country, and most of them have secured the records of their glory upon the brightest pages in our national archives. The subject of this notice was one of this class.

WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE was born at Princeton, New Jersey, on the 7th of May, 1774. He was the son of Dr. Absalom Bainbridge, a respectable physician of that town. His education was limited to the ordinary branches taught in an English school, and the rudiments of the French language.

He was placed in a counting-house in New York when sixteen years of age, but soon afterward went into the employment of a mercantile house in Philadelphia, and was sent to sea; in about two years after this, he was mate of the ship Hope, and on a voyage to Holland, saved the life of his captain who had been seized by a mutinous crew, with the intention of throwing him overboard. On his return home, he

was promoted, for his good conduct and abilities, to the command of a ship in the Dutch trade, and he continued in command of various ships until 1798.

In July of that year, hostilities having commenced with France, he received the offer of the command of the United States' schooner Retaliation, of fourteen guns, which he accepted, with the rank of lieutenant in the navy, and sailed with a small squadron under commodore Murray, on a cruise to the West Indies. In November of the same year, the Retaliation was captured by two French frigates and a lugger, and carried into Guadaloupe. Here he found several American vessels of great value detained, and their crews treated with great severity. The governor, General Desfourneaux, made great professions of friendship to the United States, and proposed that Lieutenant BAINBRIDGE should resume the command of his vessel, and return home. What design the governor had in making this proposition does not very clearly appear, but Lieutenant BAINBRIDGE appears to have believed it a scheme to get a national vessel and officer out of the way, with some other object than friendship; he, therefore, replied that he knew of no other light in which he could be regarded than either as a prisoner or entirely free. The governor insisted on his returning to the United States with his vessel and forty of his crew, and declared that if the Retaliation were again found cruising against the French, every American within his power should be put to the sword. Being obliged by force to resume the command of his vessel, of which Desfourneaux gave him a declaration, he returned home in company with two flags of truce in February, 1799.

He again sailed for the West Indies in the brig Norfolk, of eighteen guns, with the commission of master-commandant. During his cruise, he gave protection to the trade of our merchants, captured several of the enemy's merchantmen and a privateer, destroyed a number of barges, and compelled a privateer of sixteen guns to run ashore.

In 1800, he was promoted to the rank of a captain, and sailed in the frigate George Washington, with presents to the Dey of Algiers, according to the treaty then existing. At Algiers, he consented (though with great reluctance) to carry an ambassador with presents from the Dey to the Grand Seignior at Constantinople.

The arrival of an American frigate for the first time at Constantinople, caused a great sensation among the Turks, who were altogether unable to comprehend where the country was situated from which she came, or what flag they had to salute, but being informed that America was otherwise called the new world, they gave the captain a

cordial welcome, and he was treated with great respect by the Turkish authorities, and by the diplomatic corps at Pera.

The Algerine ambassador was, on the contrary, repelled with indignity by the capudan pacha, who spat and stamped upon his letters and refused the presents of his master, on account of his depredations on the commerce of nations in amity with the Porte, and also for having made peace with France without consulting the sultan.

Captain BAINBRIDGE, accompanied by Dr. Clarke, the celebrated traveller, and other distinguished foreigners, proceeded to the Black sea in his long-boat, where he had the pleasure of displaying "the star-spangled banner" for the first time. On his return, he gave an entertainment on board the frigate. The natives of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, sat down together at the same table, and were regaled with water, bread, fruit, and meat from the four quarters of the globe. This visit to Constantinople left a favorable impression of the American character, and opened the way to subsequent negotiations and more intimate relations.

On his return to Algiers with the secretary of the ambassador, war was immediately declared against France, and the French consul and citizens were ordered to leave the country in forty-eight hours. To save them from captivity, Captain BAINBRIDGE received them all on board his ship, and landed them at Alicant; he then returned home, and arrived at Philadelphia, in April, 1801. He returned to the Mediterranean in the following June, in the Essex frigate, to protect our commerce against the Tripolitans; he came home in July, 1802, and again sailed in July, 1803, to join the squadron under Commodore Preble. The frigate Philadelphia, which Captain BAINBRIDGE now commanded, had been built by the merchants of Philadelphia, and by them presented to the government.

On the 26th of August, off cape De Gatt, he fell in with a Moorish cruiser of twenty-two guns, in company with an American brig, which had been captured a few days before, and her captain and crew carried on board the ship, and there confined. This practical hostility was accounted for by the orders found on board, which proved the intention of the emperor of Morocco to let loose his forces against American commerce. On making the discovery, Captain BAINBRIDGE made prize of the ship, which he manned from the Philadelphia, and having pursued and recaptured the brig, he carried them to Gibraltar.

The loss of one of his finest vessels at the very commencement of his war-like speculation, convinced the emperor of its folly, and led to a

speedy and permanent peace. While Commodore Preble was engaged in negotiation, Captain BAINBRIDGE proceeded to blockade Tripoli with the Philadelphia and Vixen. Being informed that a Tripolitan cruiser had escaped from the port, the Vixen was ordered to cruise off cape Bon in quest of her. After her departure, the Philadelphia was driven from her cruising ground by strong westerly gales; but the wind coming round to the eastward, she was returning to her station, when a strange ship was discovered in shore and running for the harbor of Tripoli: the Philadelphia gave chase, and when about four miles and a half from the town, and going at the rate of six or seven knots, she ran upon a reef of rocks which were unknown to our navigators in that sea. This unfortunate event occurred on the morning of the 31st of October. Every exertion was made to float the ship by throwing overboard the guns and anchors, starting the water, and cutting away the foremast, but to no purpose. The gun-boats came out of the harbor and fired upon her, but so long as she kept an upright position, they were kept off by the few guns which could be brought to bear upon them. At length she turned upon her side, and could no longer be defended; the magazine was drowned, every article of value thrown overboard, the ship skuttled, the pumps choked, and all this being accomplished, the colors were struck at five o'clock in the afternoon. The officers and crew were plundered of every thing valuable on their persons before they reached the shore, but were afterward kindly treated by the pacha, until Decatur burnt the Philadelphia on the sixteenth of February, 1804, after which they were closely confined in the castle, through fear of their escape. On the 3d of February, 1805, they were liberated, a treaty having been concluded, by which the pacha was to receive the sum of sixty thousand dollars.

From this period till the commencement of the year 1812, Captain BAINBRIDGE was occasionally employed in the public service, and at other times, while on furlough, engaged in the merchant service, which was rendered necessary by the reduced state of his funds.

On the declaration of war in 1812, he had command of the navy-yard at Charlestown, Massachusetts, but soon after was appointed to the command of the Constellation frigate; he was thence transferred to the Constitution on the arrival of that ship at Boston, after the capture of the Guerriere.

He sailed in company with the sloop of war Hornet, Captain Law rence, on a cruise to the East Indies. After parting with the Hornet, he was running down the coast of Brazil, when, on the 29th of

December, he fell in with the Java, a British frigate of forty-nine guns, commanded by Captain Lambert, with a full crew of more than four hundred men, and upwards of one hundred officers and men for ships on the East India station, together with Lieutenant-General Hislop and suite, of the British army.

The action commenced at the distance of half a mile, but the two ships gradually approached each other, until the jib-boom of the Java got foul of the Constitution's mizen rigging. The battle lasted nearly two hours, and only terminated when the last spar of the Java had gone by the board. The slaughter on board of this ship was dreadful. Her captain and sixty men were killed, and upwards of a hundred wounded.

The Constitution had nine killed and twenty-five wounded, among whom was the commodore himself.

As it was found impossible to bring the Java to the United States, the prisoners and baggage were removed to the Constitution in the only boat which remained between the two frigates; this service occupied two days, after which the wreck was blown up, and the Constitution put into St. Salvador, where the prisoners were set at liberty on parole, and had every article of their private property restored to them.

The kind attention which Commodore BAINBRIDGE paid to his prisoners, was gratefully acknowledged by them, and their letters to him added to the honor of his victory.

The original plan of the cruise having been thus interrupted, the Constitution returned to Boston.

Commodore BAINBRIDGE was received with enthusiastic welcome by his countrymen. The same crew had twice encountered the enemy with success, and congress granted fifty thousand dollars for each of the captured frigates.

The noble ship which had in so short a time destroyed two British frigates of the first class, became an object of national pride; and the names of her gallant captains are associated with every recollection of the steps by which our navy has *won* its way to universal favor. There are few ships in any navy, there are certainly none in our own, which have seen more service; and if there be at the present time any object in which our people feel an undivided interest, it is in this same Constitution, which, from the little damage she sustained in her numerous encounters, has acquired the popular *soubriquet* of "Old Ironsides."

At the conclusion of the war, Commodore BAINBRIDGE went to the

Mediterranean in command of the Columbus seventy-four, and this, we believe, was the last of his services at sea; he commanded at several of our naval stations, and was every where respected and esteemed, and acted for several years as one of the board of naval commissioners. Commodore BAINBRIDGE had been in infirm health for some years previous to his death, and while on a tour of inspection to the eastern states, was admonished by the increasing severity of his disease, that his voyage was nearly ended. With this impression, he returned to Philadelphia with the obvious desire to breathe his last in that city and died on the 27th of July, 1833.

STEPHEN DECATUR.

STEPHEN DECATUR was born in the county of Worcester, upon the eastern shore of Maryland, on the 5th January, 1779. His father, Stephen Decatur, a native of Newport, Rhode Island, was a captain in the U. S. navy from its first establishment until the termination of our difficulties with the French republic, when he retired from the ocean. He died in Philadelphia, in 1808, honored and lamented.

His son, STEPHEN, entered the navy in 1798, as a midshipman on board the frigate United States, under the command of Com. Barry.

In 1801 he sailed as first lieutenant of the Essex, one of Commodore Dale's squadron, to the Mediterranean. He went out with the second expedition to the same station, as first lieutenant of the New York. At Malta he had a rencontre with a British officer, which terminated fatally; in consequence of which he was suspended, and sent home in the Chesapeake as a passenger. After his conduct in this affair had been investigated, he was appointed to the command of the brig Argus, and proceeded to join Commodore Preble's squadron, then lying before Tripoli. On his arrival there, he took command of the schooner Enterprise, in which he engaged and in a few minutes captured a Tripolitan ketch, within sight of the town. This little prize was afterward called the Intrepid.

Shortly after this, Lieutenant DECATUR conceived the daring project of recapturing or destroying the frigate Philadelphia, as she lay in the harbor of Tripoli. With great difficulty he obtained the commodore's sanction to his perilous enterprise; but having at last gained his consent, DECATUR manned the Intrepid with seventy volunteers, and accompanied by other young officers, all of whom have since acquired fame, he sailed from Syracuse on the 3d of February, 1804, in company with the United States' brig Syren, Lieutenant Stewart, who was to take off the men in his boats, in case it should be found necessary to use the Intrepid as a fire-ship.

After a tempestuous passage of a fortnight, they arrived off Tripoli towards evening. It had been arranged between lieutenants DECA-

TUR and Stewart, that the ketch and the boats of the Syren should enter the harbor about ten o'clock that night. The time arrived; but a change of wind had carried the Syren several miles to leeward, and DECATUR determined to take advantage of the wind which was then fair, and venture into the harbor without waiting for the boats.

The Philadelphia, with her guns mounted and loaded, was moored under the guns of the castle; two Tripolitan cruisers lay within two cables' length on her starboard quarter, and several gun-boats within half gun-shot on her starboard bow. The ketch carried her gallant crew within two hundred yards of the frigate, without interruption; they were then hailed, and ordered to anchor. A Maltese pilot, by DECATUR'S order, answered that they had lost their anchors in a gale of wind off the coast, and therefore could not anchor. By this time they had approached near the frigate, and were becalmed. Lieutenant DECATUR then directed a small boat to take a rope, and make it fast to the fore-chains of the frigate; this being accomplished, the crew began to warp the ketch alongside. Up to this moment the enemy had suspected no danger; but now, in great confusion, they began to prepare for defence. Before they were well aware of the character of their visiters, DECATUR had sprung on board, followed by midshipman Charles Morris. These two were nearly a minute on the deck before their companions joined them; fortunately the surprise was too sudden for advantage to be taken of the delay. The Turks crowded together on the quarter deck without attempting to repel the boarders, who, as soon as a sufficient number were assembled to form a front equal to their adversaries, rushed upon them and very soon cleared the deck. About twenty Turks were killed in the assault; the rest jumped overboard or fled below. He ordered the ship to be set on fire in several parts, and when certain of her destruction, the crew returned on board the ketch; a favorable breeze sprung up, and they sailed out of the harbor without the loss of a man, four only being wounded. For this gallant achievement, congress voted DECATUR their thanks and a sword; and he was promoted to the rank of post-captain, with the full approbation of the officers over whose heads he was raised.

The following spring Commodore Preble determined to make an attack on Tripoli; and having obtained the loan of some gun-boats and bombards from the king of Naples, he gave the command of one division of them to Captain DECATUR. These boats were manned by a mixed crew of Americans and Neapolitans, but the latter appear to have contributed little or nothing to the success of the day. The

signal to prepare for action was made from the commodore's ship, the Constitution, on the morning of the 3d of August; and at nine o'clock the squadron began to bombard the town, and the vessels in the harbor. The gun-boats, led on by DECATUR, advanced in a line to attack the Tripolitan gun-boats, which were moored along the mouth of the harbor, and within musket-shot of the batteries. He ordered the bowsprits of all the boats of his division to be unshipped, and every preparation made to board the boats of the enemy; he then advanced through a heavy fire from the battery and gun-boats, and boarded one of the boats with twenty-seven Americans: the deck was cleared in a few minutes, and DECATUR was about to take his prize out of the line, when a boat which had been commanded by his brother, Lieutenant James Decatur, came under his stern; and he was informed that his brother, after capturing one of the enemy's boats, had been treacherously slain by the commander, who was then making for the port. He waited to hear no more, but hastened to overtake the assassin, and avenge his brother: with his single boat he pursued the retreating foe beyond the line of the enemy; he succeeded in laying his boat alongside and threw himself on board with eleven of his men, all the Americans he had left. The fight continued on the deck for twenty minutes, and but four of his men remained unwounded. DECATUR now singled out the commander, who was the special object of his vengeance. With his cutlass he attempted to cut off the head of the espontoon with which his antagonist was armed; but striking the iron, the treacherous steel broke at the hilt, and he received a wound in the right arm and breast. They then closed, and after a fierce struggle both fell. The Turk endeavored to stab him with a dagger; but DECATUR seized his arm with his left hand, and with his right brought a small pistol to bear upon his antagonist—cocked it, fired through his pocket, and killed him. During this struggle, one of the Tripolitans behind DECATUR, aimed a blow at his head with a sabre; an American seaman, who had been so severely wounded as to lose the use of both hands, rushed between the uplifted sabre and his commander's head, and received the blow upon his own head, which fractured his skull. The generous sailor survived, and his self-devotion was afterward rewarded by the government.

DECATUR secured both his prizes, and received the highest commendation from Commodore Preble; who, on retiring from the command of the squadron, gave him the command of the Constitution. From that ship he was removed to the Congress, and, on the conclusion of peace with Tripoli, returned to the United States.

At this time his gallantry and success had rendered him a favorite officer with his countrymen. He superseded Commodore Barron, as commander of the Chesapeake, and was afterwards removed to the frigate United States.

In the late war with Great Britain, his skill and intrepidity were again eminently conspicuous. On the 25th of October, 1812, the United States fell in with and captured the Macedonian of forty-nine guns, esteemed one of the finest ships of her class in the British navy. The battle lasted an hour and a half. The United States received but little damage in her hull and rigging, and had but six killed and seven wounded. The Macedonian lost her mizen-mast, fore and main-top-masts, and main yard, and was much battered in the hull. Her loss was thirty-six killed, and sixty-eight wounded.

The reception of Captain Carden on board of the United States was highly honorable to DECATUR, evincing a chivalrous and delicate courtesy. When Captain Carden presented his sword, DECATUR declined receiving it, observing that he could not think of taking the sword of an officer who had defended his ship so gallantly, but he should be glad to take him by the hand.

DECATUR escorted his prize into the harbor of New York, where she was repaired and equipped as an American frigate. The name of the gallant victor was hailed with enthusiastic admiration throughout the country; and congress, several of the state legislatures, and the principal cities of the union, testified their high sense of his services by votes of thanks and costly presents.

In 1813, he attempted to get to sea with the United States, the Macedonian, and the Hornet, through Long Island sound; but was compelled to run into the mouth of the Thames, in Connecticut, by a squadron of British ships of much superior force. He lay off New London several months, without any opportunity of running out to sea.

DECATUR could not abide to be thus cooped up within sight of the ocean without using every expedient in his power to relieve himself. He sent a challenge to the commander of the blockading squadron, Sir Thomas M. Hardy, offering to meet two British frigates with the United States and Macedonian; but the invitation was declined.

At length the two frigates were dismantled, and DECATUR returned to New York, where he took command of a squadron destined for the East Indies; and having appointed a rendezvous for the other ships, he put to sea, in the frigate President, on the 14th of January, 1815.

Owing to some mistake of the pilot, the ship in going out grounded on the bar, and continued to strike heavily for an hour and a half,

which greatly injured her sailing. The next morning the British squadron were discovered in pursuit, consisting of the Majestic razee, the Endymion, Tenedos, and Pomona frigates, and a brig. It was soon apparent that the Endymion was the fastest ship. DECATUR, always fertile in resources, projected a plan of escape in accordance with the daring of his character, in which, had he succeeded, he would have reached the summit of naval renown. His design was to lead the Endymion as far as possible away from her consorts; board her with all his crew, who were in readiness at a moment's warning; abandon or destroy the President, and then escape; but the project was defeated by the caution of his antagonist, who suspecting the *ruse*, avoided it, and preserved the advantage of his position so long as DECATUR kept his course. Confident of his ability to throw the Endymion out of the combat before the other ships could come to her assistance, DECATUR changed his course and made battle. He completely crippled his adversary's ship, and silenced her battery. He then pursued his course as before; but by this time the other ships had opened their fire upon the President. To escape was out of the question, to fight the squadron with his single ship with a view to conquest was hopeless, and an unjustifiable waste of the lives of his men; he therefore surrendered to the commander of the squadron. The British have endeavored to make it appear that the President surrendered to the Endymion; it was not so. There were intervals of minutes in which she did not fire a gun before the President left her, nor did she fire a gun when the latter changed her course and might have been raked.

DECATUR soon after returned to the United States, and was immediately employed on his favorite element.

The Algerines, instigated as was supposed, by British agents, but more probably by the hope of plunder, had taken advantage of our war with Great Britain, to capture some of our merchantmen, and enslave their crews. That war having been terminated, a squadron was despatched to the Mediterranean, under command of Commodore DECATUR. He captured an Algerine frigate of forty-nine guns after a short action, (in which the celebrated Rais Hammida was killed,) and a brig of twenty-two guns. He arrived before Algiers on the 22d of June, 1815, and immediately demanded a treaty. His terms were stated, with all possible brevity, to be a relinquishment of all annual tribute or ransom for prisoners,—property taken from Americans to be restored or paid for,—all enslaved Americans to be released, and no American ever again to be held as a slave. The relinquishment of

tribute was the most difficult point to settle, as it was contended that it might be used as a precedent by the European powers, and prove destructive to the Dey; "even a little powder," said the Algerine negotiator, "might prove satisfactory." "If," replied DECATUR, "you insist upon receiving powder as tribute, you must expect to receive balls with it." In forty-eight hours the treaty was negotiated, giving to Americans privileges and immunities never before granted by a Barbary state to a Christian power. He then proceeded to Tunis and Tripoli, and obtained redress by a similar summary process, and returned home in the autumn of the same year. He was subsequently appointed one of the board of navy commissioners, and resided in the city of Washington, at Kalorama, formerly the seat of Joel Barlow.

We now approach the last act of Commodore DECATUR'S life, the result of which was his untimely death, with painful emotions. In October, 1819, a correspondence was commenced between Commodores Barron and DECATUR, in relation to expressions said to have been used by the latter disrespectful to the former. DECATUR promptly denied having used the language stated, but left the inference open that he had not been particular to conceal his opinions, which were not very favorable to the former commander of the Chesapeake. As is generally the case in such controversies, the difficulties became less likely to be adjusted, the more they were discussed. The correspondence on the part of DECATUR was remarkable for its keen sarcasm and severity, beyond the bounds of justification, either by his position or the letters of Commodore Barron. Both the parties reprobated duelling, and yet the controversy ended as such a bitter controversy could only end—in a duel. They met at Bladensburg on the morning of the 22d of March, 1820. At the first fire both were wounded; DECATUR mortally, Barron dangerously. Commodore DECATUR was conveyed to Washington to his distracted wife, and died the same evening. His remains were attended to the vault at Kalorama, in which they were deposited, by a great part of the male population of Washington and the adjacent country, by nearly all the officers of government, members of congress, and representatives of foreign governments resident there.

Thus DECATUR, in the prime of life, in the enjoyment of his country's highest regard and confidence, a husband, on whom the cherished object of his love was entirely dependent, threw away his valuable life in what is misnamed "an affair of honor," and added one more to the list of victims of a barbarous code, which few of his profession have had the moral courage to resist.

FISHER AMES.

THE peace of 1783, which confirmed the independence of the United States, by no means put an end to the difficulties under which the country labored. Oppressed by a heavy debt which it was bound alike by honor and interest to liquidate, the general government found itself without a revenue and without the power of raising one; the merchants were ruined by a long war, which had destroyed or interrupted their commerce; while many of the people were ready to resort to violence to redress their real or fancied grievances. Nor were these difficulties at once removed by the adoption of the federal constitution. With a new and untried government to put in operation, with an Indian war upon its frontiers, and civil dissension within its borders, while the varying aspect of European politics exercised a prodigious and unfavorable influence, the country had occasion for all its knowledge and ability. At this time many who had occupied subordinate stations during the war of the revolution, began to come more conspicuously forward, while others before too young for the service of their country, now first began to appear in her councils. Among these last was the subject of this biography.

FISHER AMES was born on the 9th of April, 1758, at Dedham, a pleasant country town, about nine miles south of Boston. His family was one of the oldest and most respectable in the state, and his father, a reputable physician, is said to have possessed a portion of that talent which afterwards so eminently distinguished the son. This father, AMES was so unfortunate as to lose in the seventh year of his age; and his mother was left in narrow circumstances, and with five children, to struggle through the world. FISHER had commenced the study of Latin a short time previous to the death of his father, and notwithstanding the smallness of her income, his mother determined that he should pursue his classical studies. He already gave evidence of a mind active and comprehensive beyond that of his fellows, and by a rare felicity, she lived to see her son in the meridian of his fame more than fulfilling the promise of his boyhood. In July, 1770,

shortly after he had completed his twelfth year, he was admitted to Harvard college. With a mind too immature, perhaps, to receive the full benefit to be derived from the collegiate course, his uncommon parts enabled him to outstrip those who were much his seniors, and he soon obtained a high reputation for ability. His studious habits and correct morals made him a favorite with his preceptors, while his gay disposition and amiable manners rendered him equally popular among his companions. Even at this early period he was remarkable for the talent, which afterwards constituted his principal claim to reputation. In a society formed among the students for their mutual improvement in oratory, AMES was a favorite; and his declamation, observes president Kirkland, "was remarkable for its energy and propriety." "His compositions," continues his biographer, "at this time bore the characteristic stamp which has always marked his speaking and writing. They were sententious and full of ornament. In 1774, he received his degree as Bachelor of Arts; but owing to the disturbed and excited condition of the country, his own youth, and the narrow circumstances of his mother, he did not enter at once upon the study of a profession. Meanwhile he was not idle; in teaching in one of the district schools of his native state, he at the same time obtained the means of maintaining himself, while leisure was left him for the prosecution of his favorite studies. At this time, he used afterwards to repeat, he read, with an avidity bordering on enthusiasm, almost every author within his reach." He revised the classics which he had read at college, he studied history, both natural and civil, and having a taste for the creations of the imagination, in poetry and a few good novels he found at once relaxation and amusement. In this manner his mind was strengthened and his taste improved, while he enlarged those stores of imagery with which he was always ready to adorn or illustrate his subject. Mr. AMES commenced the practice of law at Dedham, his native place, in the autumn of 1781. Though prevented by circumstances and by his youth from taking any active part in public affairs, he entered warmly into the interest of the rising states, then struggling for independence. His talents soon became known to his fellow-citizens, and they did not neglect to employ them. A paper currency depreciated far below its nominal value, caused the most serious inconveniences throughout the state; so great was the evil as to have led, in some instances, to acts of open violence.

To devise some means for the relief of the general distress, a convention of delegates from every part of the state had assembled at Concord, and after regulating arbitrarily the price of articles, had

adjourned till autumn. Mr. AMES was chosen to represent his town at this adjourned meeting. As might have been foreseen, the plan of the previous assembly had entirely failed, yet many were desirous of its further trial. In a lucid and eloquent speech, Mr. AMES showed the utter inefficacy of any such measure, and maintained that it was necessary for the citizens to exert their patriotism and patience, to endure those evils which could not be obviated. As a pleader, Mr. AMES early obtained an enviable reputation, but soon he appeared before the public in a new light—as a political essay writer. The war of the revolution left many of the citizens of Massachusetts deeply involved in debt; the public debt too, the weight of which eventually fell upon the citizens, was large, and the taxes in consequence burdensome. Urged on by these circumstances, and encouraged by the weakness of the government, many of the inhabitants of Western Massachusetts, rose up in arms, and under their leader, Shays, threatened destruction to the civil government. In a paper entitled Lucius Junius Brutus, AMES showed, in glowing and forcible language, the evils which would follow, should the authorities yield to the demands of the insurgents; the necessity of energetic measures, on the part of those in authority; and the real weakness of the rebels, were such measures resorted to. After the insurrection had been suppressed, in a series of papers under the head of Camillus he exposed the sources of the late disturbances, and exhibited the means proper to prevent their repetition, and the necessity of altering the constitution so as to strengthen the hands of the federal government. These papers immediately drew upon him the attention of the public; they gave him at once standing in a state fruitful in eminent men, and from the brightness of the beginning, the splendor of his future career was predicted. The federal constitution was an instrument which, either in its formation or in the debates regarding its adoption, called into play nearly all the talents of the union. In the convention called in Massachusetts for its ratification, AMES was a conspicuous member, and his speech on biennial elections, though not the happiest of his efforts, had at the time a great effect, and may still be read with pleasure. After supporting the constitution in the convention, he was called upon by his fellow-citizens to become a member of the government of which it was the basis. Suffolk district, which included the capital of the state, chose him as its first representative to congress. During the eight years of Washington's presidentship, he continued to fill the same station, and throughout was an able and efficient supporter of the administration. The difficulties under which the government labored, were at this

period greater, perhaps, than they have ever been since. The constitution left room for debate on the relative powers of the different branches of the legislature; and precedent, which in such cases takes the place of law, was not yet in existence. The settlement of the differences with Spain and Great Britain; the manner in which the public debt was to be disposed of; the neutrality to be preserved with regard to France; the regulations required by commerce; the system of internal taxation; were all questions of the most important and intricate character, often seriously threatening the peace of the country, and in one instance causing an actual rebellion. On all these questions Mr. AMES displayed the activity and depth of his mind, and on many of them the force of his eloquence. His speeches on Mr. Madison's resolutions, and on the appropriation for the British treaty, are worthy of particular notice. The latter forms an era in his political life. For some time his health had been declining under the influence of the lingering disease which finally put a period to his existence; but the importance of the question and the strength of the opposition determined him, at every hazard, to exert his influence upon the occasion. When he rose he knew not whether his strength would hold out sufficiently long for him to finish the remarks which he intended, but his force increased as he proceeded. The speech abounded in the most high-toned notions of national honor and morality, and in the most earnest appeals to the patriotism and reason of his hearers. During its delivery, a crowded house listened with a silent and earnest attention; and when in conclusion he alluded, in a touching manner, "to his own slender and almost broken hold upon life," the audience was visibly affected. As he took his seat, the question was loudly called for; but the opposition dreaded the effects of a speech so hostile to their views, and one of its members moved that the decision of the question be postponed to the ensuing day, lest they should act under the influence of feelings which their calm judgment might condemn.

At the close of the session, in the spring of 1796, Mr. AMES travelled in Virginia for the improvement of his health. Every where he was received with the respect and attention which his public character demanded, and which his situation rendered necessary. By relaxation, exercise, and the use of the waters of some of the medicinal springs in which that country abounds, his health was much benefited. At this time the college of New Jersey gave a testimony of the general esteem in which he was held, by creating him doctor of laws.

At the next session of congress, he was again able to attend to his

public duties, but the vigor which he formerly brought to business was gone. The brightness of his mind remained undimmed, but disease had impaired the energy necessary for its exhibition. He was at that session, chairman of the committee which prepared the answer to the president's address. After alluding, in a respectful and affectionate manner, to that portion of the speech which declares that he now stood for the last time in their presence, the address concluded, "for your country's sake, for the sake of republican liberty, it is our earnest wish, that your example may be the guide of your successors; and thus, after being the ornament and safeguard of the present age, become the patrimony of our descendants." In the debate which follows he defended with his usual ability the measures of the administration, and vindicated the claims of Washington to the esteem and veneration of his countrymen.

Mr. AMES had previously declined a reëlection; and the session being concluded, he retired to private life, to seek in his native town, and in the bosom of his family, the renewal of a health broken by the toil and hurry of business. In the cultivation of his farm he found both relaxation and exercise; and by resuming the practice of his profession, he endeavored to provide for the wants of his family, and to retrieve a fortune neglected amid the cares of public life. He determined to revise his legal studies, and to make a business of his profession; but his gradually increasing infirmities prevented the execution of his designs. After a few years, he was obliged to renounce altogether the labors of the bar. Though he had retired from office, he could not dismiss politics from his mind: the interest of his country was as dear to him as ever, and he endeavored by his writings so to influence public opinion, as to lead it in the channel he thought most conducive to the general happiness. Abhorring the frantic excesses of the French revolution, he feared the hold which France had upon the sympathies of America; himself an ardent federalist, his acute mind foresaw the approaching downfall of his party, and he dreaded lest his country should fall with it. Whatever opinions may be entertained of the correctness of his party doctrines, time has shown that his fears for the safety of the country were unfounded. The union was too firmly based to be affected by the change of party; may it ever thus continue to disappoint the anxious fears of its supporters! Entertaining the opinions which he did, AMES employed all the strength of his understanding, all the force of his wit, in the support of his party. Even when disease would have deterred another from any exertion whatever, he continued his efforts;

and so long as he could hold his pen, it was employed in warning his countrymen of the dangers with which he believed them threatened. In the year 1800, he accepted a seat in the council of the state; and when Washington died, he was called upon to pronounce his eulogy. Calm and majestic in its march, vivid in its description, it touches upon the great events which most conspicuously manifest the transcendent virtues of the father of his country. There is in it no appeal to the passions, no picture of a great nation mourning the loss of its benefactor; but it holds up its hero as worthy the admiration, the gratitude, the imitation of all future ages. In the year 1804, AMES was chosen president of Harvard college; but, though sensible of the honor which the choice conferred upon him, had his health permitted it, he would not have accepted an office for which he was unfitted by his habits and his education. From the year 1795, the health of Mr. AMES had been gradually declining. Partial intermissions would sometimes rekindle the hopes of his friends, but only again to be extinguished. At length death could no longer be baffled of its prey. For two years he had labored under an exceeding debility: he knew he had not long to live, he was aware of his fate, and he looked upon its approach with calmness. Religion, which had supported him throughout his illness, in his extremity did not deny her aid. His patriotism still burned brightly even on his death-bed, and to the last, his country shared his thoughts with his family. He died on the morning of the 4th of July, 1808. When the news of his death reached Boston, a public meeting was immediately held, to show the sense of the citizens on the loss with which they had met. Appropriate resolutions were passed, his family was requested to bring his remains to Boston to receive a public interment, and one of his early friends, Mr. Dexter, was appointed to deliver a eulogy over them. These testimonials of respect, it is true, are sometimes lavished on the unworthy; but though AMES had long been only a private citizen, his death was felt to be a public loss: his fellow-citizens regretted the untimely end of one who was equally esteemed for his talents and his virtues, to whom they could look at once for precept and for example.

Education in America is not favorable now, and before the revolution was less so, to the cultivation of the highest powers of the human intellect. The country being unprovided with literary institutions possessed of ample endowments, and the great mass of people in moderate circumstances, the young man of talent, before his education is completed, finds it necessary to do something for his own support. Numerous avenues are open to honorable exertion, but literature is

not among them. He sees that it only depends upon himself to obtain an independence; and accustomed to rely upon himself, though in his heart he may aspire after fame, he determines to attend to business. But the hours thus devoted are lost to study and reflection, and the aspirations which he represses in the end become deadened; he loses that thirst for distinction which is the surest means of acquiring it. But his intellect, though it does not reach so lofty a height, becomes more practical; and he brings to public affairs a mind active, persevering, fertile in resources, and ready to grapple with all the details of business. What situation AMES would have occupied in the world of letters had he been differently situated, we cannot now determine; the place which he holds is certainly a high one, but it might undoubtedly have been much higher. He possessed a ready and comprehensive intellect, a vivid imagination, and a sound judgment. As an orator he stands in the first rank. In his speeches nothing is more remarkable than the profusion of images in which they abound. Whether it is to add beauty to a subject, or to render an obscure point so plain as to be palpable to the most common understanding, he is equally happy; simple, picturesque, startling examples may be drawn from his works, of every felicity of allusion. He indeed sometimes uses them too freely: image follows image in rapid succession, and the mind has not fully freed itself from the influence of one comparison, before it is called away to attend to another. Another of his merits is the clearness of his style. Whatever he says can readily be understood. His sentences are in general short, and his words so chosen and placed that his meaning cannot be mistaken. He rarely appeals to the passions of his hearers, he addresses himself to their understandings and their moral feeling; and his style is thus always sustained and elevated. His essays have the same distinguishing excellences as his orations: they are clear, concise, and abound in vivid and beautiful imagery. Most of them were written under unfavorable circumstances: while he was suffering under a lingering and painful disease, or in the intervals of time devoted to other pursuits. Yet he has succeeded in throwing over temporary subjects a lasting interest. The events which called them forth have long passed away; but the style is so beautiful, and they contain so many truths applicable to all ages, that time has not succeeded in depriving them either of their interest or their value. The moral character of AMES was as amiable as his intellectual was elevated. In all the relations of life, as a husband, a father, a friend, he was equally beloved and respected. He took great pleasure in society, and was

fitted to adorn it. It has been said that all his other talents were excelled by his powers of conversation. Here his quick comprehension, his practical knowledge of the world, his fertile fancy, and his ready elocution, all appeared to the greatest advantage, and all were set off by a manner which seemed as if its possessor were unconscious of his own superiority.

In person Mr. AMES was tall and well proportioned, his countenance handsome, and his eyes expressive. In debate his manner was animated, and he readily became excited. This excitement continued after the cause had ceased to operate. "After debate," says President Kirkland, "his mind was agitated like the ocean after a storm, and his nerves were like the shrouds of a ship torn by the tempest."

B. M. C

RUFUS KING.

Rufus King, the eldest son of Richard King, a wealthy merchant of Scarborough, Maine, was born in the year 1755. After having received a good common school education, he was placed under the care of Mr. Samuel Moody, an eminent classical teacher at Byfield.

He removed to Harvard college in 1773, where he continued until the commencement of the war of independence, when the students were dispersed, and the college was occupied several months by the American troops. During this interval, Mr. King pursued his studies with his former teacher, at Byfield. In 1777, he returned to college, and graduated with great reputation, as a classical scholar, and as an orator of extraordinary powers. He immediately commenced the study of law at Newburyport, under the late chief justice of Massachusetts, Theophilus Parsons, and was admitted to practice in 1780.

For a short period, in 1778, he took the field as a volunteer, and served as an aid to General Glover, in the enterprise conducted by General Sullivan against the British on Rhode Island.

Mr. King made his *debut* at the bar, as adverse counsel to his great instructer, Parsons. Undaunted by the gigantic powers of his antagonist, he put forth his efforts with the skilfulness of an experienced lawyer, and exhibited so successfully his talents as an orator, that he at once opened for himself the path to future eminence. He was soon after elected a representative from Newburyport, to the legislature of Massachusetts. While he was a member of that body, in 1784, congress recommended to the several states to vest in the general government "full authority to regulate their commerce, both external and internal, and to impose such duties as might be necessary for that purpose." In the debate which followed, Mr. King supported the grant, and prevailed. This was one of the earliest instances in which the line of distinction was strongly marked, between the federal and state interests.

In the same year (1784), he was elected as a delegate to congress, and took his seat as a member of that body, then in session at Trenton, and never after resumed his practice at the bar. He was reëlected to the same station, the two following years.

On the 16th of March, 1785, Mr. KING brought forward and advocated the passage of the resolution by which slavery was prohibited in the territory north-west of the Ohio.

As a member of the convention held in Philadelphia, in 1787, for the purpose of revising the articles of confederation, and for his labors in the Massachusetts convention, to consider and decide on its adoption, Mr. KING is entitled to the lasting gratitude of every American. Next to that venerated conclave, the signers of the Declaration of Independence, that wise and patriotic body who framed the present constitution of the United States is worthy of our reverence. Those who are familiar with the history of the American government, from the peace of 1783 to 1788, will sustain this opinion. As has been correctly said by a late writer,*

"The history of the world records no case of more intense interest, than that which pervaded the United States, in 1788. Thirteen independent sovereignties, seriously alarmed for their preservation against each other, more alarmed with the apprehension that they might give up the liberty which they had gained with the utmost exertion of mind and body from foreign tyranny, to one of their own creation, within their own limits, called into the deliberative assemblies of the time all the able men of the country. Some union of the states was admitted by all to be indispensable; but in what manner it was to be effected, what powers should be given, and what powers reserved,—how these should be modified, checked, and balanced,—were points on which honest men might zealously contend. Here was a case, in which a whole people, unawed by any foreign power, in peace with all the world, sorely experienced in what may be the exercise of civil authority, dependent on no will but their own, convinced of the necessity of forming some government, were called on to settle, by peaceful agreement among themselves, the most important questions which can be presented to the human mind."

The great question of all was, as Washington said, "whether we were to survive as an independent republic, or decline from our federal dignity into insignificant and wretched fragments of empire." The old government by experiment had been proved to be inefficient; the embarrassment of debt which it could not command the means to pay, and the necessity of foreign treaties which it could not effectually guaranty, exposed the country to distrust and contempt abroad, and to tumults and distress at home. Mr. KING, having been in

* William Sullivan, Esq.

congress three years, knew the imbecility of the national government and the necessity of a revision. A convention to deliberate on the subject was recommended by some of the state legislatures, and congress gave it their sanction by a similar recommendation on motion of the Massachusetts delegation, then consisting of Mr. Dana and Mr. KING. He attended with the convention during their whole session, took a large share in the discussion and formation of the new constitution, and was a member of the committee appointed to prepare the final draft of that instrument. When it was referred to the several states for ratification, Mr. KING was sent to the state convention by his constituents of Newburyport.* In this assembly he distinguished himself by his intimate knowledge of the subject, the weight of his arguments, and the popular style of his oratory.

Soon after this, Mr. KING removed to the city of New York. He had, in 1786, married Miss Alsop, the only child of John Alsop, an opulent merchant of that city, and one of the delegates from New York to the first continental congress. In 1789, he was chosen a member of the legislature; and during its extra session, in the summer of that year, he and General Schuyler were elected the first senators in congress from that state.

During the great excitement which was caused by the promulgation of the British treaty, in 1794, Mr. KING appeared by the side of his friend, General Hamilton, at a public meeting of the citizens of New York. But their attempts to explain and defend it, were refused They then endeavored to reach the public mind through the press, and jointly wrote a series of papers, under the signature of *Camillus;* the first ten numbers of which were from the pen of Hamilton, the remainder of the series were written by Mr. KING.

About this period, a petition was presented to the senate of the United States, by some citizens of Pennsylvania, in which it was alleged that Albert Gallatin, who had recently been elected a senator from that state, was not qualified to take his seat, in consequence of his not having been naturalized a sufficient number of years. A warm

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* Mr. Sullivan, in his "Familiar Letters," before quoted, says, "RUFUS KING at this time was about thirty-three years of age. He was an uncommonly handsome man, in face and form; he had a powerful mind, well cultivated, and was a dignified and graceful speaker. He had the appearance of one who was a gentleman by nature, and who had well improved all her gifts. It is a rare occurrence to see a finer assemblage of personal and intellectual qualities, cultivated to best effect, than were seen in this gentleman."

controversy ensued. Mr. Taylor of Virginia, Mr. Monroe, and Colonel Burr, maintained the right of the returned member to his seat; they were successfully opposed by Mr. Ellsworth, Mr. Story, and Mr. KING, and their political friends. The speech of Mr. KING on this occasion is said to have been one of the most powerful displays of eloquence produced in modern times.

In the spring of 1796, he was appointed by President Washington minister plenipotentiary to Great Britain. He continued at the English court through the administration of Mr. Adams, and for two years of the presidency of Mr. Jefferson. While abroad, he lived on intimate terms with the most eminent statesmen and literary characters; and by the mild dignity of his manners, and his talents and capacity for public business, he acquired and maintained a powerful personal influence, which he exerted to advance the interests of his country.

Many important subjects were adjusted to the satisfaction of both nations, particularly the Maryland claim, which was finally settled by a convention, in which the British government agreed to pay £600,000. But the most important negotiation in which he was engaged was that which related to the impressment of American seamen. During the war between Great Britain and France, he had been unwearied in urging that great grievance upon the attention of the ministry, and finally succeeded in obtaining their assent to the principles of an agreement; but the peace of 1801 terminated the practice complained of, and the negotiation together. In 1802, a convention was agreed to by the British government relative to the boundary lines of the United States; but it was rejected by the president, and the subject still remains unadjusted.

Mr. KING had requested permission to return to his own country, when the war between France and Great Britain was renewed. He then made another effort to prevent a revival of the practice of impressment, and on the 7th of May, 1803, he submitted the following article:

"No person shall be impressed or taken on the high seas, out of any ship or vessel belonging to the subjects or citizens of one of the parties, by the public or private armed ships or men of war belonging to, or in the service of, the other party."

To this article Lord St. Vincent, the first lord of the admiralty, and Lord Hawkesbury, the secretary of state for foreign affairs, at first assented; but after a consultation with Sir William Scott, an exception

was required in favor of the *narrow seas*. Mr. KING, after deliberately considering the proposal, determined to reject it.

After his return home, he continued in retirement at his farm on Long Island, until the war of 1812, when he came forward and offered his services in support of the cause of his country. The following extract from a pamphlet ascribed to the pen of Mr. Van Buren, is alike honorable to the writer and to Mr. KING.

"At this momentous crisis, which applied the touchstone to the hearts of men, when many of the stoutest were appalled, and the weak despaired of the republic, Mr. KING was neither idle nor dismayed. His love of country dispelled his attachments to party. In terms of the warmest solicitude and in strains of the most impassioned eloquence, he remonstrated in his correspondence with the leaders of the opposition in this state and in the east, on the folly, the madness, and the mischief of their course; he contributed largely of his means to the loans to government; he infused confidence into the desponding, and labored to divest the timid of their fears; he sought Governor Tompkins, to whom, from the warmth of his devotion to his country's cause, and from the plenitude of his responsibility, rather than of his powers, every eye was directed, and to him Mr. KING communicated the patriotic ardor with which he was himself animated.

"The purport and object of his interesting interview with the governor, is thus described by the latter: 'Venerable and patriotic citizens, such as Colonel Rutgers, Colonel Willet, Governor Wolcott, Mr. KING, and others, animated me to the greatest efforts; the latter gentleman in an interview with me was peculiarly impressive: he said that the time had arrived when every good citizen was bound to put his all at the requisition of government, that he was ready to do this, that the people of the state of New York would and must hold me personally responsible for its safety. I acquainted him with the difficulties under which I had struggled for the two preceding years, the various instances in which I had been already compelled to act without law or legislative indemnity, and urged, that if I should once more exert myself to meet all the emergencies and pecuniary difficulties with which we were pressed, I must inevitably ruin myself. "Well, sir," added he with that enthusiasm which genius lends to patriotism, "what is the ruin of an individual compared with the safety of the republic? If you are ruined, you will have the consolation of enjoying the gratitude of your fellow-citizens; but you must trust to the magnanimity and justice of your country, you must transcend the law, you must save this city and state from the danger with which they are menaced, you must ruin yourself if it become necessary, and I pledge you my honor that I will support you in whatever you do."' Having done all in his power to induce to exertions at home, Mr. KING repaired to his post in the senate of the United States, and in that body zealously supported the prominent measures of the administration to sustain the country in the severe struggle in which she was engaged."

In consequence of the decided stand which Mr. KING had taken at the commencement of the war, the legislature, in 1813, elected him to the senate of the United States for six years. In 1819, the legislature of the state of New York was divided into three political parties, each having a candidate for the vacant seat in the senate of the nation. Neither candidate could obtain a majority, consequently there was no election. At the session in 1820, Mr. KING was

reëlected, with only three dissenting votes in the two branches of the legislature. It was to promote this election that the pamphlet quoted above was published.

It has been remarked (Annual Register, 1826–7) that, "Mr. KING was one of those senators whom no habit of opposition to administration, and no arbitrary classification of supposed claims of party, could induce to a forgetfulness that the United States was his country, and that the rights and the honor of that country he ought to support and maintain. It has been observed that the conduct of the enemy in their destruction of Washington, tended to unite all parties in America. The speech of Mr. KING in the senate on this occasion, while it may compare with any of his former efforts in eloquence, has the rare and enviable distinction of being approved and applauded for its sentiments also, by the whole nation."

The principal measures originated by Mr. KING in the senate are, the law requiring cash payments upon sales of the public lands; and the act of 1818, on which is founded the navigation system of the United States.

The most unpopular act of Mr. KING's political life was the part he took in the discussion of the celebrated slavery-question on the admission of Missouri to the rank of a state. An allusion to this subject is all that is necessary in this place.

At the termination of his second term in the senate, he intended to close his political career; but, in the hope of contributing to the adjustment of some disputed questions between the United States and Great Britain, he accepted the mission offered him by President Adams, and once more took up his residence near the British court. He was received by Mr. Canning and the other ministers with a marked and respectful attention. But his health was impaired to such a degree, that he was unable to attend to business; and after spending a year in England, he returned to his native land, and died on the 29th of April, 1827.

Mr. KING's political sentiments were settled in early life, by the circumstances of his country. He was a federalist from the birth of the party, but he acted independently on the great questions which successively came under discussion. The consequence of his independent course necessarily was, that he became by turns a favorite with all parties, or an object of attack and virulent denunciation. These effects of party strife, however, will not deprive his name of that measure of honorable distinction to which our brief sketch is sufficient to show it is fairly entitled. J. H.

STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER.

It has been remarked by a writer of some eminence, "that in *wishing*, mankind are nearly alike; and it is chiefly the striking incongruity that exists between their thoughts and actions that checquers society, and produces those endless varieties of character and situation which prevail in human life." An examination of our own hearts, and a comparison of our thoughts and actions, will at once satisfy us of the comparative truth of the remark.

The architect of his own fame and fortune, and the proud possessor of hereditary wealth and distinction, tested by this rule, stand upon a level; and starting at the same time on the race of life, it not unfrequently happens that the man of large estate finds himself, in view of the goal, outstripped in his career by the humblest of his tenants.

Wealth and profligacy are frequent companions; but such is the strength of public opinion in our community, that the wealth of the profligate can neither purchase for him the honors of office, nor screen him from public contempt.

Born to a large hereditary estate, it is the merited praise of the subject of our present sketch, that throughout a long life he has, by his personal worth and conduct, commanded the respect and admiration of all classes of his fellow-men. His evil deeds are unknown, whilst his munificent contributions to works of science, his many beneficent acts of kindness to struggling genius, his fostering patronage of impoverished talent, and his noble and untiring efforts in the great cause of human improvement, constitute for him imperishable claims to the gratitude and veneration of posterity.

Stephen Van Rensselaer, commonly known as the Patroon of Albany, was born in the city of New York on the first of November, 1764. His first paternal ancestor in this country was a native of Holland, and a director of the Dutch West India Company, to whom a grant had been made of the state of New York, then known as New Netherlands, by the States General of Holland, themselves claiming title to the soil on the principle adopted among the nations of Europe,

by common consent: that discovery gave title to the nation by whose subject it was made, against all other European powers, and that possession consummated this right.

For the purpose, therefore, of founding a colony, and thus consummating their title by possession, the West India Company was formed, and received a grant of the newly discovered domain.

Hendrich Hudson, according to the best authorities, on his first voyage, explored the river which bears his name, as far north as the city of Albany, at which place the director obtained an extensive grant of land on both sides of the river, then and now known as the Manor of Rensselaerwych, which, in the regular course of descent, was transmitted to its present possessor. His father having died during his early youth, his person and estate were committed to the charge of guardians, one of whom was his maternal grandfather, Philip Livingston.

The education of Mr. VAN RENSSELAER was commensurate with his station in life. His collegiate course, commenced at Nassau Hall College, New Jersey, was finished at Harvard University (then the pride of the new world), where he received the degree of A. B. in 1782. Mr. VAN RENSSELAER attained his majority at a period of eventful interest in the history of his country.

The struggle for independence had successfully terminated, and the infant republic had commenced its existence among nations.

All, however, was not yet accomplished: a victory over ourselves was yet to be achieved. The articles of confederation under which the United Colonies had triumphantly resisted the power of the British Crown, were at once discovered as defective for the purposes of self-government. Discussions ensued, marked with great power and unusual warmth: in these discussions, which terminated in the adoption of the constitution, Mr. VAN RENSSELAER took an active part, enlisting himself in the controversy on the side of the federalists. The confidence of his immediate fellow-citizens was evinced by successive elections to the assembly and senate of the state, over which latter body, in 1795, he was called to preside as lieutenant-governor of the state, with John Jay as governor, in which station he continued six years.

Mr. VAN RENSSELAER'S prospect of higher advancement terminated with the defeat of the party to which he was attached; but in his own county, so great was his popularity, so venerated his character, that upon all occasions of his nomination to the councils of the state or the nation, he rarely if ever was met by an opponent.

STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER.

During the last war with Great Britain, Mr. VAN RENSSELAER was selected by the late Governor Tompkins for the command of our militia on the Niagara frontier; and, by the energy of his conduct, and the moral force of his character, succeeded in giving confidence to the army, dispirited by former reverses, and eventually to place his forces upon offensive ground.

The bloody though unsuccessful battle of Queenstown, fought by a portion of his forces under command of General Solomon Van Rensselaer, was the result of the new spirit infused into the army; and although, by the cowardice of a portion of the troops in refusing to cross to the assistance of their fellow-soldiers, the field of battle remained in possession of the enemy, yet the moral victory was with the American arms.

After the termination of the war, his services were again rendered in our halls of legislation; which scene he finally abandoned on the termination of the twentieth congress, having previously, in 1824, determined the election of John Quincy Adams as President, by giving the casting vote in the state delegation in his favor.

Such is a brief sketch of his public or official career; but slight is its importance in comparison with the noble and beneficent course of his private life. Looking alike to the moral, intellectual, and physical improvement of his fellow-men, he has considered himself as not formed merely for political uses in the machinery of state affairs, but as an intelligent being, created for those great ends which God has established as the objects of existence. He has sought out the errors of our social system, and striven to apply a remedy. Regarding knowledge as power, he has lent himself and fortune to the diffusion of education. He has sought to carry that great mainspring of virtue to the firesides of our whole people, and in its train the beautiful precepts of Christianity.

Nor has he contented himself with general effort. He has looked into the mass of society; he has gone into the abodes of poverty, and selected from among their inmates those whose genius and talents would fit them to be ministers to the improvement and happiness of their fellow-men.

In all the liberal professions there may be found individuals who owe their advancement to the secret liberality of the "Patroon" of Albany.

In the cause of temperance Mr. VAN RENSSELAER has been an efficient laborer; and to all the associations for the diffusion of the Scriptures, the spread of Christianity, and the moral reformation of

the community, he has contributed his means and influence, and in several of them he now holds high official stations.

In the success of the great works of internal improvements, as developed in our Erie and Champlain canals, Mr. VAN RENSSELAER materially assisted; and on the death of the lamented Clinton, he was appointed President of the Board of Canal Commissioners, which station he continues to occupy at the present day.

As President of the Board of Agriculture from its incorporation to the period of its dissolution, he rendered the most important services to the cause; and the geological surveys, made under his direction, of various portions of the state, produced a happy effect upon the interests of agriculturists.

To perpetuate and extend these efforts, he established in the vicinity of Troy the institution which bears his name; and, were other topics of praise wanting, the system of instruction pursued in the "Rensselaer School," suggested by himself, will hereafter entitle him to be classed as one of the benefactors of the age.

This school was instituted in 1824, for the purpose, as stated by its founder, "of qualifying teachers for instructing the children of farmers and mechanics in the application of experimental chemistry, philosophy, and natural history, to agriculture, domestic economy, the arts, and manufactures."

The system of instruction pursued is one of practical application, each pupil becoming a teacher in all his exercises, and the school may justly be considered as the *common workshop* of all literary and scientific institutions.

Instead of commencing with the elementary principles, the student, reasoning from effects to causes, acquires them in the progress of his study. For nine years the school has been in successful operation, and has given full satisfaction to its patron and trustees.

We have given this brief outline of the peculiar characteristics of the Rensselaer Institute, as exhibiting the benevolent mind of its founder in its strongest coloring. Beautiful indeed is the picture!

Amid the temptations of the world, the allurements of ambition, and the all-pervading influence of earthly renown, we see him devoting his mind and fortune to the paramount though humble duty of diffusing the blessings of knowledge among that portion of his fellow-men, who, from their station in society, are least likely to possess the means of its acquirement. When we remember that "liberty and learning lean on each other for support," we can well appreciate the value of such efforts.

N. B. B.

WILLIAM PINKNEY.

WILLIAM PINKNEY was born on the 17th of March, 1764, at Annapolis, in the state of Maryland. His father was an Englishman by birth, and during the whole course of our struggle for independence, maintained his allegiance to the British crown; but his son, from his early youth, was a firm supporter of the principles of the American revolution. The elementary education of Mr. PINKNEY was defective, but as good as could ordinarily be obtained during the revolutionary war. He commenced his classical studies under a private teacher, and soon after adopted the study of medicine; but not finding it adapted to his cast of mind, he relinquished the profession, and in 1783 was enrolled in the office of Judge Chace as a student of the law. In 1786 he was admitted to the bar, and removed the same year to Harford county for the practice of his profession. In 1788 he was elected a delegate from that county to the convention of Maryland which ratified the constitution of the United States; and in October of the same year, was chosen a representative to the house of delegates of Maryland from the county of Harford, in which office he continued until 1792, when he returned to Annapolis.

He was married in 1789, at Havre de Grace, in the state of Maryland, to Miss Ann Maria Rodgers (sister to Commodore Rodgers of the American navy), by whom he had a family of ten children, of which eight are now living, most of them residents of Baltimore.

In 1792 he was elected a member of the executive council of the state of Maryland, and continued in office till 1795, when he resigned his seat at the executive board, of which he was president, having been chosen a delegate from Anne Arundel county to the state legislature.

In 1796 Mr. PINKNEY was appointed by President Washington a commissioner of the United States, under the seventh article of Mr. Jay's treaty with Great Britain, and accordingly he embarked for London with his family, and arrived in July of the same year, meeting Mr. Gore, another commissioner on the part of the American govern-

ment. During his official labors at the board, several important questions of international law, such as the practice of prize courts, the law of contraband, domicil, and blockade, were brought incidentally into discussion, and the written opinions of Mr. PINKNEY on these subjects were regarded as models of powerful argument and judicial eloquence. Within the time of his residence abroad, he was also deeply engaged in managing the claims of the state of Maryland to a large amount of public property, which had been invested in the stock of the Bank of England, and which had been long involved in chancery litigation; which claims he adjusted to the ample satisfaction of the parties.

In 1804 Mr. PINKNEY returned to the United States. In his absence he had enjoyed an intimacy with some of the most distinguished English jurists, among whom was Sir William Scott; he had heard Mr. Erskine, and had given an habitual attendance upon the British parliament; and he returned with the conviction that a higher standard of legal attainment ought to be adopted in this country, than that which was already established. He therefore embraced the opportunity to supply in some measure his own conscious defects, by extending his knowledge of English and classical literature, and by devoting himself to the study of elocution. Soon after his return from England, he removed from Annapolis to Baltimore, deeming it a broader field for the exercise of professional enterprise; and in 1805 he was appointed attorney general of the state of Maryland.

In 1806 he was appointed (in conjunction with Mr. Monroe, then American minister at London) minister extraordinary to treat with the British government regarding the collisions which ultimately involved the United States in a war with Great Britain; and in accordance with this mission, he soon embarked for the British court. After having for a long period continued to press upon the British government the claims of his country for the redress of grievances, without success, Mr. PINKNEY was recalled from England at his own solicitation, and arrived in the United States in June, 1811, when he resumed with ardor the labors of his profession. In September, 1811, he was elected senator of the state of Maryland, and in the following December he received from Mr. Madison, the appointment of attorney general of the United States.

In the controversies growing out of our last war with Great Britain, Mr. PINKNEY took a decided part in the belligerent discussions of the day; and in 1813, he published a pamphlet of considerable power, maintaining the justice of the war on the part of our own government, which at that crisis excited a strong public interest.

During that war, Mr. PINKNEY commanded a battalion of riflemen which was raised in Baltimore for local defence; and in the battle at Bladensburg he conducted with great bravery, but was severely wounded. Soon after this occurrence he was elected a representative to Congress, from the city of Baltimore. In March, 1816, he was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the court of Russia, and special minister to that of Naples. He embarked on board of the Washington, a ship of the line, under the command of Commodore Chauncey, and on the 26th of July of the same year, he landed at Naples. The object for which this mission was established at the Neapolitan court, was to demand indemnification for the losses which had been sustained by our merchants, on account of the seizure and confiscation of their property in the year 1809, during the administration of Murat; but his negotiations with this government proved unsuccessful. In his travels through the continent, Mr. PINKNEY visited Rome, and most of the principal Italian cities, and ultimately proceeded through Vienna to St. Petersburgh, to fulfil the duties of his mission at the Russian court. After the lapse of two years, he returned to the United States.

Soon after his return from the Russian court, he was engaged in an important case, which sprang up on the alleged right of the state legislature to tax the national bank, which in 1819 came on for trial before the supreme court of the United States. This action was based upon a writ of error to the court of appeals of the state of Maryland, which had given judgment against the national bank for the penalties prescribed for non payment of the tax which had been assessed by the state. Mr. PINKNEY contended that the state law was unconstitutional; and after a long and powerful argument to establish this conviction in the mind of the court, judgment was recovered, exempting the bank of the United States from state taxation.

His talents, however, brought him once more into public life; he was elected a senator to congress, and took his seat on the fourth of January, 1820. One of the most important efforts upon which he was here engaged, was the great Missouri question; and his speech on that occasion, which is on record, abounds with the strongly-marked characteristics of his powerful mind. In the bill for the admission of Missouri into the federal union, there was a clause imbodied, prohibiting the introduction of slaves into the new state, and Mr. PINKNEY argued against the prohibition on the ground that congress had no power to make such a restriction upon the admission of a new state to the confederacy, and that such restriction was consequently unconstitutional and void. While in the senate, he performed immense labors

at the bar of the supreme court of the United States. On the 17th of February, after extraordinary fatigue in an important cause, he was attacked by a severe indisposition; and after a period of acute distress, he expired on the 25th of February, 1822; falling like a brilliant star, just as he had culminated to the zenith of his professional fame. He was buried in Washington, where he died, with the honors due to his senatorial office, and upon his grave was erected an appropriate marble monument.

Mr. PINKNEY's mind was of the highest cast of intellectual power, solid as well as brilliant; combining the fruits of laborious industry with extraordinary natural talents. Endowed with something of the enlarged philosophy, the exuberant metaphor, and the gorgeous rhetoric of Burke,—the chaste and pruned sentiment of Canning,—the lofty and impassioned declamation of the younger Pitt,—the brilliant illustration of Sheridan,—the ardent enthusiasm of Fox, and the rapid elegance of Erskine,—the eloquence of Mr. PINKNEY was founded upon his own model, and abounded probably with more advantages than that of any of the orators we have mentioned. Its foundation was laid in the most extensive and accurate knowledge, and a verdant and masculine imagination. Possessed of the most persevering habits of investigation, and disposed from these habits to labor, under all circumstances, in drawing his legal reasons from the great fountains of jurisprudence, he had always at his command the most abstruse learning of the law, while the course of his otherwise barren argument was generally relieved by the exuberance of a fruitful fancy, which always brought him a great strength and fulness of illustration.

In his political character, Mr. PINKNEY was a thorough and firm republican. Belonging to the party denominated *democratic*, he always advocated those doctrines of public policy upon which he deemed our government was founded; holding it to be a great public establishment, founded on the rights of man, and framed for the benefit of the great body of the people.

It is to be regretted that the record of his extraordinary powers lives only in the recollection of his contemporaries, or in mutilated fragments, which might otherwise have been handed down to posterity as a mighty and glorious monument of his forensic fame, and a valuable legacy to American jurisprudence.

J. H. L.

LINDLEY MURRAY.

Among those who have contributed to dignify the annals of their country, by a devotion to the interests of the rising generation, and by the unobtrusive but impressive example of a virtuous life, may be ranked the subject of this memoir.

Lindley Murray was born at Swetara, near Lancaster, in the state of Pennsylvania, in the year 1745. His father was an enterprising trader and miller, and for the purpose of obtaining a more effectual support for a numerous and growing family, he removed to New York, and there distinguished himself as an active merchant and a man of great integrity and respectability. Lindley was the eldest of twelve children. His mother, he commemorates, as "a woman of an amiable disposition, remarkable for mildness, humanity, and liberality of sentiment, a faithful and affectionate wife, a tender mother, and a kind mistress, and that the recollection of her unwearied solicitude for his health and happiness, ever awakened the emotions of affection and gratitude." The character of Lindley Murray, therefore, and we may add, that of his brother, John Murray Junior, who will long be remembered in the city of New York, for his beneficence and worth, furnish additional evidence of the infinite importance of maternal influence in laying the foundation of intellectual and moral greatness.

Prior to the removal of his father to New York, Lindley was placed at school in Philadelphia, at an academy of which the English department was conducted by Ebenezer Kinnersley, the friend and correspondent of Dr. Franklin, and his coadjutor in electrical researches. At New York, at his own request, his father procured for him a private tutor, for instruction in classical learning, but such was the ardor of his pursuit of knowledge, and so close his application, his constitution was found inadequate to the pressure; he was compelled to relax in his studies. He was then introduced to his father's counting-room, and for some time was intently engaged in the pursuits and gains of commerce. He greatly lamented however,

the deficiencies of his education. He became a member of a debating society, which met weekly for the discussion of such topics as might be agreed upon, and while he admitted that his stock of knowledge was increased, and the logical arrangement of his ideas much facilitated by this exercise, he has left in his autobiography, a caution to his readers against the tendency of such institutions to produce a spirit of disputation and loquacity, and an inclination to scepticism on subjects of high importance. Though naturally of an ardent temperament, and much inclined to an indulgence in pleasures, his mind was fortified against infidel opinions by an early perusal of some of the most distinguished authors in favor of a divine revelation. Among these were Leland's View of the Deistical Writers; Butler's Analogy of Religion; Sherlock on Providence; and Sherlock's Discourses. These books, he observed, with some others, were the means of impressing upon his mind, such a survey of the Christian religion, and the divine economy, as to relieve him from all the embarrassments which are so apt to perplex men of prejudiced and short sighted views relative to the nature of religious obligation.

To reconcile him to the relinquishment of literary applications which were so obviously injuring his health, and to encourage him in the pursuits of commercial life, his father consigned to him an invoice of silver watches and some other articles, by the sale of which he realized so much profit, as to enlist in this traffic the natural ardor and energy of his feelings. The routine and restraints of the counting-house were, however, still irksome to him. His father's government, although dictated by the strongest parental solicitude for his welfare, he deemed to be too rigid, and having on one occasion received chastisement for a disobedience of orders with respect to evening hours, although the time was spent by invitation at the house of an uncle, he forthwith planned an elopement, procured a stock of new clothes, packed up his wardrobe and his books, and undiscovered and unknown to any of the family, proceeded to Burlington, in New Jersey, and entered himself as a pupil in a boarding school, of whose reputation he had previously been informed. His parents were greatly distressed at such an abandonment on the part of their oldest son; it was not long before he was restored to their arms by an incident which farther illustrated his characteristic energy, and his sense of honorable treatment. He met accidentally in the street, a person who had dined at his father's table, and who supposing him to be only on a visit, engaged him to convey a letter to New York, the speedy delivery of which he intimated, was of

some importance. Not being disposed to betray the secret of his residence, MURRAY took the letter, not doubting that he might find an opportunity of sending it without much delay; but not succeeding in this, and scorning to betray the confidence thus reposed in him, he hired a carriage, proceeded to New York, and delivered the letter, intending immediately to return without seeking an interview with any of his acquaintance. But the packet boat in which he had crossed the bay, could not sail till the next morning, and his only alternative was to remain at the ferry inn all night, and depart in the earliest boat. He was greatly surprised, however, in the evening by a visit from his uncle, who had received information of his being in the city, by some person who had noticed him; the affectionate expostulations of his uncle, and especially his representation of the distress and anxiety of his mother, at length overcame his resolution to return to Burlington, without first seeing her. He agreed to accompany his uncle on a visit to her, but he still intended to lodge at the inn, and to resume his station in the school. The tears and entreaties of his mother greatly affected him. His father unexpectedly came in, and instead of reproaching him, accosted him with affection, tenderly saluted him, and by a reception so different from what he had anticipated, effectually dispelled from his bosom every feeling of resentment, and determined him without hesitation to abandon the idea of leaving a home and family which had thus become dearer to him than ever. A messenger was sent the next day to the place of his retreat, to settle his accounts and bring back his property.

This event was regarded throughout his future life as a providential rescue from the danger to which such an act of insubordination might have exposed his character and his happiness. His disrelish for mercantile business, and his thirst for some employment more essentially connected with literature and intellectual occupation still continued. His father, sensible of the advantages he would possess in point of emolument and respectability if he continued in trade, and doubtless convinced of his qualification for filling the most elevated and honorable sphere of mercantile life, was averse to any change. Personal arguments, on a subject in which both parties felt a deep interest, and on which both claimed the right of an independent judgment, might have led to a collision which would put to hazard the good feelings which subsisted between them. LINDLEY, therefore, had recourse to his pen. Of the several pursuits to which he had turned his attention, none appeared to suit him so well as the law. He wrote a paper in which he fully set forth his dissatis-

faction with the business and duties of a merchant. No prospect of gain could reconcile him to the business of unpacking and repacking, of chaffering, of taking advantage of seasons, and watching the fluctuations of the market. His earnest desire for a literary profession was justified and defended by all the arguments he could muster, and the objections which had been, or might be advanced against such a predilection, were answered in a manner satisfactory at least to himself.

This paper was shown to his father, and also to a gentleman of the law, Benjamin Kissam, Esq., who was his father's counsellor, and a person of eminence and integrity in his profession. It had a most favorable effect. The counsellor became his advocate, and in a short time the fee was cheerfully advanced for his initiation as a student of law. His father generously presented him with an excellent library adapted to his taste and his wants. In this office John Jay was his fellow student, and it may readily be supposed that the talents and early virtues of one who attained to so high and eminent a station in the civil and political ranks of his country, contributed to soften the asperities of a study which, it is admitted, has much in its nature that is jejune and repulsive.

After remaining four years in the office of his preceptor, he was called to the bar and licensed to practise both as counsel and attorney. He prospered in his new employment, and soon formed a matrimonial engagement, which proved to him one of the greatest sources of felicity throughout the remaining period of a long life. The young lady was of a worthy and respectable family, possessed of personal attractions and good sense, and a most amiable disposition. She still survives him, a dignified example of feminine virtue.

Not long after he had commenced business, his father, whose health had for some time been impaired, went to England on some commercial concerns, and in about a year afterward it became advisable for his son to join him. The latter, finding his parent's health so much benefited by the change of climate, induced him to invite his family to come over to him, and in that country the united families remained for some time.

On returning to New York, in 1771, LINDLEY MURRAY resumed the practice of the law, in the exercise of which, he conscientiously endeavored to discourage litigation whenever he thought the cause of his client was unjust or indefensible. Pecuniary interest was not his rule of action, but it was his invariable practice to recommend a peaceable settlement of differences in all cases in which he deemed

such a procedure practicable, and mutually advantageous to the parties concerned. It would be difficult to assign limits to the amount of benefit which a lawyer of reputation may effect by practising on such principles of Christian benevolence; and we are happy in believing that there are many such among gentlemen of legal distinction in different parts of our country, whatever may be the number of those who, under the sole guidance of lucre, aggravate the petty feuds of vulgar life, and encourage the spirit of litigation.

His practice continued to be very successful, until the commencement of the revolutionary struggle. The general failure of proceedings in the courts of law incident upon the difficulties of that period, together with the feeble state of health which followed an attack of severe illness, induced him to remove to a pleasant retreat at Islip, on Long Island, and to wait the events of the war. During the four years of his residence at this place, a portion of his time was spent in the rural sports of rowing, fishing, and fowling, of which he became very fond, and which contributed to the reëstablishment of his health. But the retrospection of this period of his life, afforded him, as he acknowledged in its latter stages, no solid satisfaction, from the conviction that the greater part of it might have been better spent in doing good to others, and in such profitable conversation and reading as would have tended to establish the heart and life in the love and practice of goodness. The highest interests of the soul. might have been made to coincide with health and with rational physical enjoyments, without any of those indulgences which tend to produce dissipation of mind, or those selfish and injurious habits which are almost unavoidably consequent upon a thirst for amusements.

Dissatisfied at length with a life of mere bodily exercise and amusement, and unable to resume the practice of the law, in consequence of the possession of New York by the British, his only alternative appeared to be to return to the city and enter once more into trade. His father furnished him with an unlimited credit in England, he made out large orders, the goods arrived and were readily sold, new importations succeeded, and thus he continued, until the establishment of independence, when he found himself in a situation to gratify his favorite wish of retiring from business with enough to satisfy the moderate demands of himself and his companion, and to gratify that love of beneficence which is so characteristic of the Christian virtues. With a view to a life of rural enjoyment and exercise, in connection with the means of doing good which the proximity of a populous city more extensively affords, he

purchased a seat on the Hudson, about three miles from New York, in all respects adapted to his scheme of enjoyment. Prior to his removal to this alluring retreat, he had a severe fit of illness which left him greatly debilitated, the tone of his muscles being so much impaired as almost to prevent him from walking. The air and retirement of his chosen residence brought him little or no relief,—season after season passed without much amendment. Travelling was resorted to; but neither mountain air nor medicinal springs were able to restore the energy of his system, and the return to his favorite Bellevue after a summer's excursion found him but little improved. Perceiving that the relaxing heats of the American summers had an unfavorable effect, his medical advisers encouraged him to give a fair trial to the more uniform and cooler temperature which might be found in some parts of England.

To this suggestion, both he and his wife at length cheerfully acceded, trusting that the separation from their country would be but temporary, and that improved health would compensate for a disseverment of the powerful ties of relatives and friends.

A prosperous voyage landed them safely in England in 1784. Agreeably to the previous prospects of himself and his American physician, he selected Yorkshire as his residence, and established himself in a modest, but very pleasant and convenient mansion, in the little village of Holdgate, within a mile of the city of York. His general health at the time of making this settlement, had been in some degree improved. He was able, without assistance, to walk in his garden several times in the course of a day. He had for more than twenty years purposely avoided the use of much medicine, so that his digestive system remain unimpaired. His disease was muscular; and tempted by the pleasure of gentle exercise, he encroached too far on his remaining and improved strength, and was at length compelled from the severe pain which voluntary motion produced, to renounce it almost entirely, and confine himself to a sitting posture throughout the day. He continued for some time to ride daily in his carriage, deriving pleasure from the change of scene; but his muscular debility and the pain of moving continuing to increase, h was compelled at length to relinquish this, as well as the enjoyment of being drawn about his garden in a chair conveniently made for the purpose. The last time he went out in his carriage was in 1809, and from that time till his decease, upwards of sixteen years, he was wholly confined to the house. The position which he found most favorable to the preservation of his remaining strength, was an erect

sitting posture, and it was seldom that his friends found him in any other. When dressed in the morning and seated in an arm chair, which had casters, his wife rolled him with ease to the sofa, in his sitting room, on which, after he gave up taking exercise, he sat during the whole day.

His bodily sufferings appear to have produced in his mind, in every period of his adult life, the feelings of piety and devotion; and his recovery from danger or severe pain, awakened the liveliest gratitude. The total want of exercise seems to have brought on a calculous affection, which in June, 1810, terminated in the discharge of a small stone. His sufferings for some days were severe, but his mind was, as usual, calm and resigned. In an interval of comparative ease, he said, "My trust is in the mercy of God, through Christ my Redeemer. Nothing which I have done, that may seem meritorious, affords me any satisfaction on reflection, except as an earnest of divine mercy and goodness." He had subsequently a slight return of the disease, and was much afflicted with oppressive languor; but upon the whole his health was not so much impaired as might have been expected, from his total confinement to the house, his advanced age and enfeebled constitution. His spirits with slight exceptions, were uniformly good; his demeanor was at all times gentle; and his disposition mild, cheerful, and obliging. There was a genuine humility and even diffidence in his nature, which seemed to shrink from the idea of personally attracting any share of public curiosity or observation. His extreme debility induced him to decline much company, and to refuse many of the numerous calls which were offered him in consequence of the excellence of his character and the extent of his literary reputation. Mr. Edgeworth and his daughter Maria, have commemorated a visit which they paid him in 1803. They considered Mr. and Mrs. Murray as "the most striking example of domestic happiness, and of religion without ostentation, or the spirit of dogmatizing, which they had ever beheld." An American traveller of distinction,* who has described at length his visit at Holdgate, in reference to his character, observes, "He belongs to the society of Friends; but both he and Mrs. Murray have so tempered the strictness of the manners peculiar to their society, that they are polished people, with the advantage of the utmost simplicity of deportment. One would suppose that a

* Professor Silliman, in 1805.

situation so peculiar, would naturally induce a degree of impatience of temper, or at least a depression of spirits; but I know not that I have ever seen more equanimity, and sweetness of deportment, joined with a more serene and happy cheerfulness, than in this instance. When the painful circumstances of his situation were alluded to, he expressed his gratitude to heaven, for the many comforts and alleviations which, he said, he enjoyed under his confinement.

"You would not judge from his appearance, that he is an infirm man, for his countenance is rather ruddy; and it is animated with a strong expression of benevolence. His person is tall and well formed; and his manner of conversing is modest, gentle, easy, and persuasive."

Another of his fellow-countrymen* who visited him in 1819, remarks, "Though so weak as scarcely to bear his own weight, he has been enabled by the power of a strong and well balanced mind, and by the exercise of the Christian virtues, to gain a complete ascendency over himself; and to exhibit an instance of meekness, patience, and humility, which affords, I may truly say, one of the most edifying examples I have ever beheld. I have been informed by persons who were his youthful contemporaries, that he was possessed by nature of great vivacity of feeling and passions not less difficult to control, than those which fall to the ordinary lot of humanity. But so effectually have the graces of the Christian surmounted the waywardness of nature, and diffused their benign influence over the whose tenor of his mind, as to produce upon his countenance, a lustre and a sweetness of expression, 'with less of earth in them than heaven.'"

Thus prepared for his final change by a life of extraordinary self-denial and fortified by the exercise of the most eminent virtues of the Christian, LINDLEY MURRAY closed his earthly career on the 16th of February, 1826, in the eighty-first year of his age. His last illness scarcely exceeded two days. He died in the full possession of all his mental faculties. His characteristic benevolence forsook him not in the latter stages of his life. His income from the estate which he brought with him from America did not surpass five or six hundred pounds sterling; but this was sufficient for his demands, in the style of simple neatness and plenty in which he lived, leaving a surplus for the exercise of charity. The very considerable profits

* Professor Griscom.

which he derived from the almost unprecedented sale of his grammar and other works, were altogether devoted to acts of beneficence. He distributed books of piety; he gave much alms; he contributed in various ways, to render more comfortable many persons in straitened circumstances. He paid annually for the education of several poor children in his neighborhood, which before the general establishment of Sunday schools, was a peculiarly useful charity.

By his will signed February 1st, 1821, written by himself in a very neat hand, after providing amply for his wife, and commemorating a large number of relatives and friends by donations, either of books or money, and bestowing on several poor persons a small sum each, he bequeathed to the British and Foreign Bible Society, and to the African Institution, two hundred pounds each, and to seven charitable institutions in the city of York, twenty-five pounds each. The residue, after the decease of his wife, is to be transferred to New York and vested in trustees, so as to form a permanent fund, the income of which is to be appropriated, first, to the liberation of colored people from slavery, and aiding in the education of their children; second, to the civilization of the Indians of North America; and third, to the purchase and distribution of books tending to promote piety and virtue.

Of the character of LINDLEY MURRAY'S literary productions, we cannot here say much, nor is it necessary that much should be said. But few authors in our language have had, within an equal period of time, so many readers. His works all had their origin in one main source, the discriminating benevolence of his character. He had formed a high estimate of the importance of a guarded, moral, and religious education of youth, and was of opinion that sufficient care had never been taken to incorporate sound principles of piety and virtue, with the elements of literature and knowledge in the books which are constantly put into the hands of children at school. In this respect it must be confessed that he has wrought a most extensive and salutary reformation.

The first of his publications was the POWER OF RELIGION ON THE MIND. This little work exhibits in a judicious manner, the sentiments expressed by distinguished individuals when in near prospect of the close of life. Although it aims at no literary pretensions, and was written only for distribution among his friends and neighbors; it has been received with great approbation, as the sale of seventeen editions, some of them consisting of three or four thousand copies, fully demonstrates. The next work was his ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This celebrated production originated in a kind personal effort on his part to instruct a few female teachers at York, in a more extended acquaintance with the principles and elegancies of the English language. In this he was so successful, as to receive from these young teachers an urgent request to prepare for their pupils, an English grammar, based on the same plan of simplicity and clearness that he had pursued in his verbal instructions. He acknowledges in this work, his indebtedness to Lowth and other grammarians, and styled himself only a compiler; but both hemispheres have amply testified to the superiority of this grammar over every work that preceded it. It was begun in the spring of 1794, and published in the spring of 1795. The EXERCISES AND KEY, which followed the grammar, contributed greatly to the extension of a taste for pure English, and at the same time to inculcate on the mind of the young student elevated sentiments of morality and civil life. The ABRIDGMENT of the grammar, published about the same time with the exercises, became so popular, that about forty-eight thousand copies of it have been sold annually in England for many years past. The ENGLISH READER, INTRODUCTION, and SEQUEL met with a corresponding reception, on both sides of the Atlantic. No school books have ever been diffused in a manner so nearly approaching to universal as those of MURRAY. The names of teachers and editors who have published these works with slight modifications to suit their own views, would make no inconsiderable catalogue.

The INTRODUCTION AU LECTEUR FRANCOIS, and the LECTEUR FRANCOIS, are worthy, in point of selection and arrangement, of the same praise as the corresponding English works, although from the grave character of the extracts, they have not been so popular among the students of that language. The *Octavo* ENGLISH GRAMMAR in two volumes, has been considered as a standard in settling the principles and adjusting the niceties of English composition. It has gone through five or six editions in England, and several in America. The demand for the school grammars has been so great in England as to require that the types be kept standing, and for many years past every edition has consisted of ten thousand copies.

The author published also a little work on the DUTY AND BENEFIT of a daily perusal of the HOLY SCRIPTURES in families, chiefly for gratuitous distribution, and a selection from Bishop Horne's commentary on the Psalms.

J. G.

CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN.

SURPRISE has been expressed, that in the early period of our existence as a nation, so few men of talents and literature devoted themselves to authorship as a profession, and that the subject of this memoir should appear for a time almost alone in a field, where so much was to be done, and so rich a harvest reaped; but, on the contrary, it is more surprising that any one qualified for those pursuits which seemed alone, at that time, to open the path to distinction and fortune, should turn aside to sport in the regions of fancy, and offer the result of his lucubrations to a public, who were impressed with the firm conviction, that to teach or to delight by the pen, belonged to Europe exclusively. CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN had received an education which qualified him for the profession which secured wealth, free from the risks of mercantile speculation—the profession from which proceeded our statesmen, legislators, and rulers; yet he preferred the toilsome occupation of book-making, from the pure love of literature, and a benevolent desire to benefit his fellow-creatures.

The parents of BROWN were of the sect called quakers, and descended from the immediate followers or companions of the philanthropist, William Penn. Born in Philadelphia, on the 17th of January, 1771, CHARLES was the youngest but one of five sons, and by far the most feeble in constitution and diminutive in stature. This delicacy of frame, and the early development of his uncommon mental faculties, with his peculiar modes of thinking, and facility in the expression of his ideas, united the affections of the family in him, and they looked forward, fondly, to his great success in the profession of the law which they had chosen for him. But he had conceived a prejudice against the practice of our courts, and to the great chagrin of the family, he abandoned the study without undergoing the necessary examination which precedes practice.

CHARLES had associated with several young men, who formed schemes for literary improvement, and for discussing subjects in the way of debate. Doctor Milnor, of the Episcopal Church, then a stu-

dent of law, was one; Joseph Bringhurst of the society of friends, another; and a youth of uncommon talents and personal beauty, William Wilkins, who was cut off in the blossom, was, perhaps, the leader of the band, and the best beloved by BROCKDEN. The older brothers of CHARLES, all men engaged in business of a mercantile character, although they considered his views visionary, yet felt a pride in his attainments; and loved him, perhaps, the more for those qualities in which he differed from themselves. They, however, joined with his parents in pressing CHARLES to make choice of a profession, and do as other men of this world do: their importunities probably drove him from home, for with the ostensible purpose of improving his delicate health, and invigorating a feeble frame, he made several pedestrian tours, indulging in the romance which was so dear to him.

The removal of one of his favorite companions, Elihu Hubbard Smith, from Philadelphia, (where he had completed his medical education,) and his settlement as a physician in New York, brought CHARLES to that city, and introduced him to a society of young men ardent in literary pursuits, and filled with sentiments to which his own were congenial. BROWN became particularly attached to three of this association, who, like himself, were impressed with the conviction of the propriety of exerting their faculties for the promotion of human happiness, and desirous of knowledge to be devoted to that purpose. His views in becoming an author were distinct from all selfish motives. He wished to become a teacher of truth, and he adopted the vehicle of novel-writing, as most likely to produce the effect he desired upon the greater number of his fellow-creatures.

Ever ardently devoted to study, he had from infancy devoured every book thrown in his way; but very early he systematized his reading; and history, with its necessary attendant, geography, occupied the boy instead of marbles or any of the sports usually the delight of that period in man's existence—the study of architecture was likewise a favorite with him, and he drew plans for earthly houses and palaces, at the same time that he built castles in the air;—he kept a diary;—he made efforts to form his style upon such models as he admired, beginning with Johnson; but Godwin became his favorite, and was such at the time he commenced author. A pure style, more exclusively his own, flowed rapidly from his pen and his lips in a more advanced stage of his existence.

BROWN's introduction to his New York friends occurred in 1793, and he then had commenced without definite plan or object, a story which he called "Sky-walk;" portions of this romance he afterward com-

bined with the works he published. The dialogue entitled "Alcuin," was the first volume given to the public; and it was not until 1798, that he published his powerful and successful novel of "Wieland;" although a writer of the North American Review of October, 1834, says, "under cover of the popularity acquired by his Wieland, Ormond, and Arthur Mervyn, CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN, in 1794, tried a monthly magazine in Philadelphia."

The residence of BROWN'S parents was at No 117 South Second street, Philadelphia, and that was the home of CHARLES; but for several years following 1793, the greater portion of his time was passed with his friend Dunlap, in New York and Perth Amboy. The impression made on BROWN by his first visit to New York, may be judged of by an extract from a letter to this friend, dated August 13th, 1794. "It will doubtless be pleasing to be assured that your hospitable intentions towards me were answered, and that I owe to you particularly, as much pleasure as I ever experienced on a like occasion, and that my excursion to New York, will long be remembered by me with the most pleasing emotions." In September, 1795, after a visit to New York, he writes to the same, "Soon after my return, I began the design of which we talked so much. I had planned so that I could finish a work equal in extent to Caleb Williams in less than six weeks; and wrote a quantity equivalent to ten of his (Godwin's) pages daily, till the hot weather and inconvenient circumstances obliged me to relax my diligence. Great expedition does not seem very desirable. Tenets so momentous require a leisurely and deep examination; and much meditation, reading, and writing, I presume, are necessary to render my system of morality perfect in all its parts, and to acquire a full and luminous conviction; but I have not stopped—I go on, though less precipitately than at first, and hope finally to produce something valuable for its utility." The work here spoken of was never finished; but the requisite study, and parts of the manuscript, enriched other compositions. It appears from another part of this letter, that the novelist had thought of accepting his brothers' invitation to become a partner in mercantile business, and even to go as supercargo to Spain and Germany. His oldest brother, Joseph, had likewise invited him to "pass the winter on the solitary banks of the Roanoke, where he tells me" says CHARLES, "there are musty books to read, and wild woods to moralize in. The arrangements above mentioned, will probably fix me here."

Four months afterward, he again wrote to his friend Dunlap; "After wandering through fifty pages, the experiment was sufficiently

made, and the thorough consciousness that I was unfitted for the instructer's chair, that my style was feeble and diffuse, my method prolix and inaccurate, my reasoning crude and superficial, and my knowledge narrow and undigested, suddenly benumbed my fingers: I dropped the pen, and I sunk into silent and solitary meditation on the means of remedying these defects." Until July, 1796, BROWN continued a kind of sleeping partner of the counting-house, reading principally books of travels, and studying architecture with his Palladio, and at length joined his friend at Perth Amboy. In September, he went with him to New York, and shortly after became an inmate with Dr. E. H. Smith and William Johnson, Esq., who kept house in Pine street, and there he wrote a great part of his novels. This happy establishment was broke up by the death of Smith, who fell a victim to his benevolence in the yellow fever of 1798.

On the 5th of September, 1798, the three friends, Smith, BROWN, and Johnson, wrote a letter in conjunction to Dunlap, whose summer residence was Perth Amboy. BROWN says, "Johnson and I are pretty well; but E. H. Smith, by midnight sallying forth, sudden changes of temperature, fatigue, and exposure to a noon-day sun, is made sick: perhaps it would not have been so if this demon had not lurked in the air. This afternoon I revised the last sheet of Wieland. It will form a handsome volume of three hundred pages. Some ten or twelve have been added since you last saw it. I have written something of the history of Carwin, which I will send. I have deserted for the present from the prosecution of this plan, and betook myself to another, which I mean to extend to the size of Wieland, and to finish by the end of this month, provided no yellow fever disconcert my schemes." Johnson on the same sheet mentions the labors of CHARLES, and Smith concluded the letter thus, probably the last of his epistolary efforts, "These gay friends of mine have so covered the paper with their gambols, that nothing but coldness and conclusion dulness and death-heads, are left for me.

"Had you seen me extended on my bed yesterday, rejecting (alas the while!) half a dozen applications from the sick, and confined to pills and potions, you would have trembled for the safety of your poor philosopher. To-day, however, I have sitten up till this hour; and, if the day be fair, to-morrow shall resume my customary functions.

"*Tuesday noon, September 14th*, 1798.

"By order of the Committee,

"E. H. Smith, (this day 27)."

On the 18th, CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN and William Johnson write to the same friend, saying that they have in the house a young Italian, Signor Scandella, dangerously ill of the fever, and under the care of Smith. Scandella was a physician and a scientific traveller, who was seized with the epidemic on his way from Philadelphia to New York, and removed from a hotel by Smith, that he might attend to him. He died. Smith sunk under fatigue, anxious exertions, and disease, and on the 29th, the two surviving friends wrote to tell Dunlap that "Elihu Hubbard Smith was no more." On the 24th, they joined their friend at Amboy.

In the year 1799, BROWN supported a monthly magazine published by the Messrs Swords of New York, (the first work of the kind that he undertook,) and was engaged in his "Arthur Mervyn," the scene of which was suggested by those he had witnessed in Philadelphia, in 1793, and the recent events of 1798, in New York. "Edgar Huntley" followed, and partook largely of his first composition of the same kind (above mentioned), "Sky-walk." It is full of incident and extraordinary adventure. BROWN's Indians have by certain critics been preferred to those of James Fenimore Cooper, although the latter was conversant with the Indian character, and the former drew his pictures from his own fertile fancy. Both these gentlemen so highly gifted by nature, have been intimately known by the writer; and although few men have more differed in person, manner, and all the modes of social intercourse, as well as style in writing, they both considered themselves in the high character of teachers of truth, and benefactors of the human race. BROWN was cut off in early life and in the career of usefulness; and the career of Cooper, while executing a plan of the utmost importance, which, by a succession of novels, attacked the rotten institutions of European prejudice and aristocratic tyranny, has been interrupted by those who have not appreciated his motives or his character.

In 1800, appeared the second part of Arthur Mervyn. The author has in this work fully expressed his conviction, that he was to die early and by consumption. In 1801, BROWN published "Clara Howard," and in 1804, his last novel, "Jane Talbot," was published, first in London by his brother James, and immediately reprinted in America. He had now become stationary in Philadelphia, and was engaged by Conrad to conduct "The Literary Magazine, and American Register."

In 1803, Mr. BROWN turned his attention to political writing. It might appear to many, that his studies and previous writings had little

qualified him for such speculations; but it is not the party men and party writers of a country who are the soundest politicians; BROWN's Essay on the Cession of Louisiana to France, and other patriotic works of this period, entitle the writer to the praise and gratitude of his countrymen.

Little as BROWN's habits or studies might appear to have prepared him for political discussions, yet, in addition to such labors of that nature as belonged to the two periodical works he conducted, he published several pamphlets which attracted great attention, in addition to that on Louisiana—pamphlets rich in facts and deductions, full of genuine patriotism, and displaying a view of the future, amounting to a strain of apparent prophesy.

In 1804, Mr. BROWN married Elizabeth Linn, the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Linn, a Presbyterian clergyman of great popularity in New York. Miss Linn was a woman of taste and literary acquirements, and the marriage was a happy one. BROWN was now professionally and altogether an author. His domestic establishment was in Eleventh street, Philadelphia, near Chesnut street; and in the adjoining house his venerable parents found a peaceful retreat from the cares of the world, surrounded by their affectionate children; their daughter and sons being all at this period residents of their native city, with the exception of James, who married and became a permanent inhabitant of the island from whence his ancestors originally emigrated.

In addition to the periodical publication above mentioned, BROWN now projected an Annual Register, the first work of the kind undertaken in America. Conrad was the proprietor and publisher of this work also. The persevering industry and extreme facility in composition which distinguished this extraordinary man, could alone account for the quantity of matter and the amount of valuable information contained in these works. They prove the extent of knowledge he had obtained by his previous apparently desultory reading, and evinced the correctness of his taste, the result of much study and profound meditation. But laborious as these employments were, he found time for contributions to Dennie's Portfolio, and for a beautiful eulogium (in the form of a biographical sketch) on the Rev. J. B. Linn, his brother-in-law, who died while performing his duties as pastor of a Presbyterian congregation in Philadelphia.

No employment could be more congenial to the disposition and wishes of CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN, than that in which he was engaged. No situation more calculated for happiness. His wife, his children, his parents, his brothers and their children, were his riches

and his world—but like all worldly riches, they were soon to pass from him. Ever delicate, he became a victim to that cruel disease, consumption; and after trying the usual prescription of travelling, which, as is frequently the case, only added both to mental and physical sufferings, he lingered until February, 1810, and then expired with characteristic fortitude in the bosom of his family, with full reliance upon the benevolence of his Creator.

In 1811, his friend, being for some days in Philadelphia, made the following entry in his diary: "I called yesterday for the second time on the widow of my friend, CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN, and found her at home, and in company with his mother, likewise a widow since my last visit to this place. I saw the twin boys who used to be my playthings. I took them on my knees. I kissed them, and remembered former days—poor things! CHARLES has left another boy besides these, and an infant girl."

The personal appearance of BROWN was remarkable. Below the medium height, and slender in an uncommon degree, he was active and quick in his movements, and had always delighted in pedestrian exercises. The writer has accompanied him in a day's walk of forty miles, during which his copious funds of knowledge were poured forth with boundless prodigality, to the delight of his companions—occasionally interrupted by fits of abstraction, during which he would walk rapidly in silence, mentally conversing with himself or with the inhabitants of other worlds. His usual dress was singular. His dark brown hair had never been disguised by powder, although such was the fashion of the days of his youth, but fell in natural guise upon his neck and shoulders. His complexion was pale and sickly, his eye a dull gray, but capable of flashes when excited by conversation, and of a general expression of benevolence. No feature of his face was good, and yet the whole when animated was agreeable.

Although prone to conversation, it was only with a favorite few or a single companion. In a mixed company he was reserved and silent; or if forced to open his lips by some intrusive question, his answer was not unfrequently ludicrous or satirical, and followed by a laugh that was not a little disconcerting to the questioner; yet was his general deportment peculiarly mild and conciliating.

To CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN his country is indebted both for the quantity and quality of his literary productions. It is said that his published writings would amount to twenty-four volumes. He had been engaged in a work comprising a general system of geo-

graphy which he did not live to finish, or it would have proved a source of emolument to his widow and children.

Much has been written of his style, his beauties and his faults. His last writings evince an improvement which lead to the conviction that if he had lived, his character as a writer would have been among the first our country can boast—his character as a man stands conspicuous among the best. W. D.

ROBERT FULTON.

THE aid of the historian or biographer is hardly necessary to preserve the name of FULTON. He is identified with the age in which he lived, and so long as a knowledge of the power of steam remains, tradition will perpetuate the character and exertions of him, who, by his successful application of its power to the purposes of navigation, defied alike wind and tide, and compelled the elements to bow to the genius of man.

Yet although his memory exists, and will exist until the unsparing hand of time shall have swept away alike the records of his fame, and the knowledge of his triumphs, and mental darkness shall again obscure the earth; it becomes not less our duty to render him the praise which is his due, and to enrol his name in our humble volume among the illustrious worthies of our native land. Lowly in his origin, needy in circumstances, and devoid in his youthful career of the appliances of wealth, and the patronage of friends; he possessed a mind and temperament that enabled him, in the pride of genius, and by his self-dependence, to command the one and disregard the other.

He smoothed for himself the rugged road to fame, and when standing on its lofty eminence, he relaxed not the toils by which he had attained his elevation, but

——"Gazing higher,
Purposed in his heart to take another step."

The father of ROBERT FULTON was an emigrant from Ireland to this country. He married Mary, the daughter of Irish parents by the name of Smith, then settled in Pennsylvania; and from this union ROBERT was born, in the town of Little Britain, in the county of Lancaster, in the year 1765, being the third child and oldest son. His father dying when ROBERT was little more than three years old, his means of instruction, which, during the lifetime of his parent, were small, were still more reduced, and to the village school of Lancaster, he was indebted for the ordinary rudiments of a common English education. The early bent of his genius was directed to

drawing and painting, and such was his proficiency, that at the age of seventeen, we find him in Philadelphia pursuing this avocation for a livelihood, and with a success that enabled him by strict frugality, by the time he had arrived at the age of twenty-one, to acquire sufficient means for the purchase of a small farm in Washington county, on which, with filial affection, he settled his mother, and which yet remains in the possession of his family.

In 1786, he embarked for England, and became an inmate in the family of his distinguished countryman, Benjamin West, where he remained several years, and with whom he formed an intimacy which death alone dissolved.

For some time after leaving the family of Mr. West, he devoted himself chiefly to the practice of his art, and during a residence of two years in Devonshire, near Exeter, he became known to the duke of Bridgewater and the earl of Stanhope, with the latter of whom he was afterwards for a long time in regular correspondence. About this period he conceived a plan for the improvement of inland navigation, and in 1794, received the thanks of two societies for accounts of various projects suggested by him. In 1796, he published in London his treatise on the system of canal improvement. The object of this work was to prove that small canals navigated by boats of little burthen, were preferable to canals and vessels of large dimensions; and to recommend a mode of transportation over mountainous regions of country, without the aid of locks, railways, and steam-engines. This he proposed to accomplish by means of inclined planes, upon which vessels navigating the canals should be raised or lowered from one level to another, through means of some ingeniously contrived machinery placed on the higher level, by lifting and lowering the vessel perpendicularly. The only ideas in these projects claimed by him as original, were the perpendicular lift, and the connection of the inclined planes with machinery.

From England, in 1796, Mr. FULTON proceeded to France, and took up his lodgings at the same hotel with his celebrated fellow-citizen, Mr. Joel Barlow. Mr. Barlow afterwards removing to his own house, Mr. FULTON accepted an invitation to accompany him, and continued to reside in his family for seven years. In this period he studied several modern languages, and perfected himself in the higher branches of mathematics and natural philosophy.

The attention of Mr. FULTON appears to have been early directed to the application of steam to the purposes of navigation. It is not claimed for him that he was the originator of the idea, nor that he

was the first to make the experiment; but it is affirmed, and justly, that he was the first who successfully applied this powerful engine to this branch of human industry, and by his genius and perseverance removed the incumbrances which had hitherto obstructed the path, and contributed to those splendid results which we are daily witnessing, and which, in its saving of time, has shortened space, and by bringing the various sections of our beloved country into more frequent intercourse, has strengthened the federal compact, and joined more closely the bonds of union. This important object was, however, temporarily suspended; and in the meantime, in addition to various other scientific projects, Mr. FULTON embarked in a series of experiments, having for their object the destruction of ships of war by submarine explosion. The situation of France at this period, engaged in a war with nearly all the powers of Europe, and compelled to succumb on the ocean to the naval superiority of Great Britain, gave a universal interest to his scheme, and at once invited the attention of the French government to the suggestion. A commission was appointed by Napoleon, then first consul, to examine the plans, and report upon the probability of their success. Accordingly, in 1801, Mr. FULTON repaired to Brest, and there commenced the experiment with his plunging boat, the result of which we find detailed by himself in an interesting report to the committee, from which, as related in Colden's memoir, we gather the following facts:

"On the 3d July, 1801, he embarked with three companions on board his plunging boat in the harbor of Brest, and descended in it to the depth of five, ten, fifteen, and so to twenty-five feet; but he did not attempt to go lower, because he found that his imperfect machine would not bear the pressure of a greater depth. He remained below the surface one hour. During this time they were in utter darkness. Afterwards he descended with candles; but finding a great disadvantage from their consumption of vital air, he caused, previously to his next experiment, a small window of thick glass to be made near the bow of his boat, and he again descended with her, on the 24th of July, 1801. He found that he received from his window, or rather aperture covered with glass, for it was no more than an inch and a half in diameter, sufficient light to enable him to count the minutes on his watch. Having satisfied himself that he could have sufficient light when under water; that he could do without a supply of fresh air for a considerable time; that he could descend to any depth, and rise to the surface with facility; his next object was to try her movements, as well on the surface as beneath it. On the 26th of July, he weighed

his anchor and hoisted his sails; his boat had one mast, a mainsail and jib. There was only a light breeze, and therefore she did not move on the surface at more than the rate of two miles an hour; but it was found that she would tack and steer, and sail on a wind or before it, as well as any common sailing boat. He then struck her mast and sails; to do which, and perfectly to prepare the boat for plunging, required about two minutes. Having plunged to a certain depth, he placed two men at the engine, which was intended to give her progressive motion, and one at the helm, while he, with a barometer before him, governed the machine, which kept her balanced between the upper and lower waters. He found that, with the exertion of one hand only, he could keep her at any depth he pleased. The propelling engine was then put in motion, and he found upon coming to the surface, that he had, in about seven minutes, made a progress of four hundred meters, or about five hundred yards. He then again plunged, turned her round while under water, and returned to near the place he began to move from. He repeated his experiments several days successively, until he became familiar with the operation of the machinery, and the movements of the boat. He found that she was as obedient to her helm under water, as any boat could be on the surface, and that the magnetic needle traversed as well in the one situation as the other.

"On the 7th of August, Mr. FULTON again descended with a store of atmospheric air, compressed into a copper globe of a cubic foot capacity, into which two hundred atmospheres were forced. Thus prepared, he descended with three companions to the depth of about five feet. At the expiration of an hour and forty minutes, he began to take small supplies of pure air from his reservoir, and did so as he found occasion, for four hours and twenty minutes. At the expiration of this time, he came to the surface without having experienced any inconvenience from having been so long under water.

"Mr. FULTON was highly satisfied with the success of these experiments; it determined him to attempt to try the effects of these inventions on the English ships which were then blockading the coast of France, and were daily near the harbor of Brest.

"His boat at this time he called the submarine boat, or the plunging boat; he afterwards gave it the name of the Nautilus; connected with this machine, were what he then called submarine bombs, to which he has since given the name of torpedoes. This invention preceded the Nautilus. It was, indeed, his desire of discovering the means of applying his torpedoes, that turned his thoughts to a submarine boat.

Satisfied with the performance of his boat, his next object was to make some experiments with the torpedoes. A small shallop was anchored in the roads; with a bomb containing about twenty pounds of powder, he approached to within about two hundred yards of the anchored vessel, struck her with the torpedo, and blew her into atoms. A column of water and fragments, was blown from eighty to one hundred feet in the air. This experiment was made in the presence of the prefect of the department, Admiral Villaret, and a multitude of spectators.

The experiments of Mr. FULTON, with his torpedoes, were subsequently renewed in England, where, in 1805, he blew up in Walmar roads, near Deal, a Danish brig of two hundred tons, provided for the purpose.

On his return to this country, he continued his experiments, and in 1807, blew up a large hulk brig, in the harbor of New York.

These experiments, however satisfactory to himself, were not so to the various governments to whom he had offered his services, and his efforts were therefore productive of no further immediate results, than to demonstrate the effect of submarine explosions.

We now recur to an important period of Mr. FULTON's life, for the purpose of tracing, in a connected point of view, those labors, the successful result of which has exercised so beneficial an influence on the destinies of the world, and on which rest his own claims to imperishable renown. As early as 1793, as appears by a letter addressed by him to Lord Stanhope, his attention had been drawn to the practicability of steam navigation. It does not appear that any experiments were made by him, until the year 1803.

"Among his papers," says Colden, "are a variety of drawings, diagrams, and innumerable calculations, which evidently relate to the subject: but they are imperfect; most of them are mutilated, and they are without dates, so that they cannot with certainty be assigned to any period. They render it very evident, however, that the application of water-wheels as they are now used in the boats which he built in this country, was among his first conceptions of the means by which steam-vessels might be propelled."

It is not our intention to enter into an examination of Mr. FULTON's claims as an originator of this idea; he made no such pretensions. Experiments had again and again been tried by different individuals, but without success; in some instances, indeed, vessels had been moved by the power of steam, but they had only served to prove the fallaciousness of each invention, and to confirm the ignorant in their

belief of its impracticability; and until the attempt of FULTON, we unhesitatingly assert, that the practical establishment of navigation by steam was wanting, and that to him is the world indebted for its advantages.

How contemptible is that narrow-minded sectional feeling which, in its desire to give credit to natives of a particular country, would descend to calumny and falsehood, for the purpose of robbing another of his well earned laurels, merely because his birth-place was on a different soil.

Genius belongs to the earth at large. It is the property of the universe. It disdains conventional trammels, and like our own free eagle, it soars in the boundless space far above the clouds of prejudice and envy, and regardless of the petty storms beneath.

As well might the claims of Watt as an inventor be disputed, because steam-engines were in operation before his day, as those of FULTON, because others had unsuccessfully attempted similar experiments; and yet we are told by Stuart, in his "Anecdotes of Steam Engines and of their Inventors and Improvers," that "there is probably no one, whose name is associated with the history of mechanism, and whose labors have received so large a share of applause, who appears to have less claim to notice as an inventor, than ROBERT FULTON."

So also in another part of his work, in speaking of Mr. FULTON'S publication on the subject of canals before adverted to, he says, "The character of this book was that of its author, it contained nothing original, either in matter or manner." We can hardly return the compliment upon Robert Stuart, in reference to his production, as he is certainly entitled to the credit of originality for his idea of FULTON'S character, and we may add, that in this thought he stands alone.

While Mr. FULTON was yet in France engaged in his experiments with the Nautilus, Robert R. Livingston, Esq., arrived in that country as American minister, and an intimacy at once commenced between them. Chancellor Livingston had previously been engaged in some experiments in this country, and in 1798, had procured from the legislature of the state of New York the passage of an act vesting him with the exclusive right of navigating all kinds of boats which might be propelled by the force of fire or steam, on all the waters within the jurisdiction of that state, for the term of twenty years, upon condition that he should, within one year, build such a boat, the mean rate of whose speed should be at least four miles an hour.

A boat was accordingly constructed by Mr. Livingston in accordance with the act; but not meeting the condition of the law, the pro-

ject was for the time abandoned. His acquaintance with FULTON was the commencement of a new era in the history of science. It was the union of congenial spirits—a junction of minds alike distinguished for capacity, energy, and perseverance, and bent upon the same grand design, and from whose embrace sprung into being that mighty improvement, which, in its influence on human affairs, has outstripped all other efforts of modern times.

The mind of FULTON was of an order which peculiarly fitted him for this undertaking: active, inventive, and unyielding, towering in stature, it may be aptly compared to that of the bard who saw

> ——"The tops of distant thoughts,
> Which men of common stature never saw."

Possessing a keen penetration, a mind also of superior mechanical order, and a thorough theoretical knowledge of the laws of mechanics, Mr. Livingston was deficient in that practical information, which with the other qualities was united in FULTON; and on meeting with FULTON, he at once perceived the man through whose talents he might hope to accomplish his valuable designs.

It was immediately agreed between them to embark in the enterprise, and a series of experiments were had on a small scale, which resulted in a determination to build an experimental boat on the Seine.

This boat was completed early in the spring of 1803: they were on the point of making an experiment with her, when one morning as Mr. FULTON was rising from a bed in which anxiety had given him but little rest, a messenger from the boat, whose precipitation and apparent consternation announced that he was the bearer of bad tidings, presented himself to him, and exclaimed in accents of despair, "Oh, sir, the boat has broken in pieces and gone to the bottom!" Mr. FULTON, who himself related the anecdote, declared that this news created a despondency which he had never felt on any other occasion; but this was only a momentary sensation. Upon examination, he found that this boat had been too weakly framed to bear the great weight of the machinery, and that in consequence of an agitation of the river by the wind the preceding night, what the messenger had represented, had literally happened. Without returning to his lodgings, he immediately began to labor with his own hands to raise the boat, and worked for four and twenty hours incessantly, without allowing himself rest or taking refreshment, an imprudence which, as he always supposed, had a permanently bad effect on his constitution, and to which he imputed much of his subsequent bad health.

The accident did the machinery very little injury, but they were obliged to build the boat almost entirely anew; she was completed in July; her length was sixty-six feet, and she was eight feet wide. Early in August, Mr. FULTON addressed a letter to the French national institute, inviting them to witness a trial of his boat, which was made in their presence, and in the presence of a great multitude of the Parisians. This experiment was so far satisfactory to its projectors, as to determine them to continue their efforts in this country; and arrangements were accordingly made with Messrs. Watt and Bolton, to furnish certain parts of a steam-engine according to the directions of FULTON.

Mr. Livingston also procured a reënactment of the law of 1798, extending the provisions of that act to FULTON and himself, for the term of twenty years from the date of the new act.

In 1806, Mr. FULTON returned to this country, and at once commenced building his first American steamboat. In the spring of 1807, the boat was launched from the ship-yard of Mr. Charles Brown. The engine from England was put on board, and in August, she was moved by the aid of her machinery from her birth-place to the Jersey shore.

Great interest had been excited in the public mind, in relation to the new experiment; and the wharves were crowded with spectators, assembled to witness the first trial. Ridicule and jeers were freely poured forth upon the boat and its projectors, until at length, as the boat moved from the wharf and increased her speed, the silence of astonishment which at first enthralled the immense assemblage, was broken by one universal shout of acclamation and applause. The triumph of genius was complete, and the name of FULTON was thenceforward destined to stand enrolled among the benefactors of mankind.

The new boat was called the Clermont, in compliment of the place of residence of Mr. Livingston, and shortly after made her first trip to Albany and back, at an average speed of five miles an hour. The successful application of Mr. FULTON's invention had now been fairly tried, and the efficacy of navigation by steam fully determined.

The Clermont was advertised as a packet-boat between New York and Albany, and continued, with some intermissions, running the remainder of the season.

Two other boats, the Rariton and Car of Neptune, were launched the same year, and a regular passenger-line of steamboats established from that period between New York and Albany.

In each of these boats great improvements were made, although the machinery was yet imperfect.

In 1811–'12, two steamboats were built under the superintendence of Mr. FULTON as ferry-boats for crossing the Hudson river, and shortly after another of the same description for the ferry between Brooklyn and New York. These boats consisted of two complete hulls united by a common deck, moving either way with equal facility, and thereby saving the necessity of turning. The writer of this article vividly remembers the starting of this latter boat, and a painful incident therewith connected; on which occasion, he for the first time saw the extraordinary individual whose genius and triumphs this humble production commemorates.

The boat had made one or two trips across the river, and was lying at the wharf at the foot of Beekman slip. Some derangement had taken place in the machinery, which the chief engineer was engaged in rectifying; when the machinery was set in motion, and, coming in contact with the engineer, mangled him in a manner that produced his death the next day. He was removed to the house adjacent to that occupied by the author, and well does he recall to mind the conversation between Mr. FULTON and the attending surgeon, in reference to the unfortunate man; after some conversation in relation to the prospect of his recovery, Mr. FULTON, much affected, remarked, "Sir, I will give all I am worth to save the life of that man." When told that his recovery was hopeless, he was perfectly unmanned, and wept like a child. It is here introduced as showing that while his own misfortunes never for a single moment disturbed his equanimity, the finer feelings of his nature were sensitively alive to the distresses of others.

It is hardly necessary to trace the further progress of Mr. FULTON'S career in regard to steam navigation. Altogether thirteen boats were built in the city of New York, under his superintendence, the last being the steam-frigate, which, in compliment to its projector, was called Fulton the First.

The keel of this immense vessel was laid on the 20th of June, 1814, and in little more than four months she was launched from the ship-yard of Adam and Noah Brown, her architects, amid the roar of cannon and the plaudits of thousands of spectators.

From the report of the commissioners appointed to superintend her construction, we extract the following description of this magnificent vessel.

"She is a structure resting on two boats and keels, separated from end to end by a channel fifteen feet wide, and sixty-six feet long; one boat contains the caldrons of copper to prepare her steam. The

cylinder of iron, its piston, levers, and wheels, occupy part of the other. The water-wheel revolves in the space between them. The main or gun deck supports the armament, and is protected by a parapet four feet ten inches thick, of solid timber, pierced by embrasures. Through thirty port-holes, as many thirty-two pounders are intended to fire red hot shot, which can be heated with great safety and convenience. Her upper or spar deck, upon which several thousand men might parade, is encompassed with a bulwark, which affords safe quarters. She is rigged with two stout masts, each of which supports a large latteen yard, and sails; she has two bow-sprits and jibs, and four rudders, one at each extremity of each boat, so that she can be steered with either end foremost; her machinery is calculated for the addition of an engine, which will discharge an immense column of water, which it is intended to throw upon the decks and through the port-holes of an enemy, and thereby deluge her armament and ammunition."

Before the conclusion of this mighty undertaking, it pleased the Almighty to summon Mr. FULTON from the scene of his labors. He died in the city of New York, on the 24th day of February, 1815, after a short illness consequent on severe exposure.

The annunciation of his death was accompanied with all those tokens of regret which mark the decease of a great public character. His corpse was attended to its last resting-place by all the public officers in the city, and by a larger concourse of citizens than had ever been assembled on any similar occasion. Minute-guns marked the progress of the procession, and every testimonial of gratitude and respect was lavished upon his memory.

Mr. FULTON left four children, one son and three daughters, and we regret to add, in the language of Colden, with no other "patrimony than that load of debt which their parent contracted in those pursuits that ought to command the gratitude as they do the admiration of mankind." In person Mr. FULTON was about six feet high, slender, but well proportioned and well formed. In manners he was cordial, cheerful, and unembarrassed; in his domestic relations, eminently happy. A kind husband, an affectionate parent, a zealous friend, he has left behind him, independent of his public career, an unsullied reputation, and a memory void of reproach.

N. B. B.

JOSEPH STORY, LL. D.

THIS distinguished jurist was born at Marblehead, in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, in the year 1779, and was the eldest child of a second marriage. His father, Dr. Elisha Story, was a native of Boston, ardent in the cause of liberty, an active participator in the memorable destruction of the tea, and afterwards a surgeon in the army of the revolution. Subsequently retiring from the service, he settled in Marblehead, where he practised medicine with celebrity and success, till the close of an honorable and useful life, in the year 1805. The subject of this brief memoir received his early education in the academy of his native town, then under the superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Harris, afterwards president of Columbia College in New York; but under the more immediate care of Mr. Michael Walsh, an usher in that institution, a ripe classical scholar, though better known to the commercial public by his valuable system of mercantile arithmetic. With such instructers, such a pupil could not but make rapid advances in good learning. He accordingly entered Harvard University, at Cambridge, in 1795, a half year in advance; and was graduated with high and well-earned reputation, in 1798. On leaving the university, his prompt decision was for the profession of law; the study of which he commenced under the Honorable Samuel Sewall, late chief justice of Massachusetts, then in the practice in Marblehead; and completed, after the appointment of Mr. Sewall to the bench, under Mr. Justice Putnam, of the same court, then practising at the bar in Salem. To the mastery of this profound and noble science he devoted himself with unconquerable vigor of application, ardent thirst of knowledge, and the compacted and various energies of a superior mind.

The period of his admission to the bar, in 1801, is still fresh in our recollection as one of great political excitement. The democratic party, after years of laborious struggle, had just gained a general victory, by placing its chief in the presidential chair; but it had still to contend, with unabated efforts, for the control of the remaining state

governments, against an opposing party, every where formidable in its numbers and talents, and in some states, vastly superior in strength. The existing divisions had unfortunately and unjustly been made to turn on our political relations with the two great contending powers of Europe; and the principles of the revolution were successfully invoked, to swell the ranks of the dominant party. In Massachusetts, the democratic party, in which Mr. STORY was found, composed at that time a minority, numerically strong indeed, but most strenuously resisted. Yet amidst the bitterness of party strife, the respect in which New England ever holds pure integrity and intellectual greatness could not but sooner or later be manifested towards a son so eminently deserving her confidence. Mr. STORY had brought into his profession untiring diligence, extensive learning, ready and persuasive eloquence, keen sagacity, integrity unspotted, and a tenacity and firmness of purpose which opposition could seldom withstand. He was of course much resorted to, at a very early period, and received solid proofs of the wisdom and discernment of the public, in the great extent and variety of his professional engagements. Political circumstances may have had their influence with others, in opposing him so young, and often alone, in important causes against the most eminent lawyers of that day. A distinction like this, at once so honorable and so perilous, may be regarded as a most felicitous event in the life of a professional man; since it brings him into immediate contact with powerful minds, and familiarizes him with the depths of his favorite science. The art of war is no where so rapidly and successfully acquired, as in the field against the great captains of the age.

In 1805, Mr. STORY was elected one of the representatives of the town of Salem, in the legislature of Massachusetts; to which office he was annually reëlected, till his appointment to the bench. In times of such political excitement, generous spirits are always found in the front of the battle; but the high estimation in which he was held, is evinced by the fact that during his legislative career, he was the acknowledged leader of the party with which he acted; and that on him, in 1808, was mainly devolved the task of defending the embargo policy of the national administration, against the resolutions introduced and supported by Christopher Gore, then in the fulness of his intellectual strength, and the zenith of his influence. It should, however, be remembered to the honor of Mr. STORY, and for the benefit of younger politicians and of later days, that he never was the slave of party. He acknowledged no party ligament, binding him to the support of measures which his sober judgment could not approve.

He recognised no code of political ethics, distinct from the principles which govern every good man in his private life. On the great questions of national politics, he was always a disciple of the school of Washington. While the restrictive system of Mr. Jefferson was avowedly resorted to and pursued merely as a measure of precaution, temporary in its nature, it could command his willing support, without any compromise of consistency. But when it afterwards came to be acknowledged as a system of permanent policy, he stood faithful to his principles in as earnestly seeking its repeal.

It was the good fortune of Massachusetts, that so much political influence was at that time possessed by Mr. STORY. From causes not within our present limits to detail, its supreme judiciary, beside the general odium in which the tribunals of justice are too often undeservedly held, had become peculiarly obnoxious to the democratic party; and yet the aid of that party was now indispensably necessary, in order to make some important alterations in the administration of justice, and to place the salaries of the judges on the permanent foundation intended by the constitution. Prior to the year 1806, their stated compensation, which was very small, had become far inadequate to afford a decent support; and the course for many years had been to make to each of the judges an annual legislative grant, to supply this acknowledged deficiency. Yet the language of the constitution in relation to these officers is, that they shall have "honorable salaries, ascertained and established by standing laws." A vacancy occurring at this time in the office of chief justice of the supreme judicial court, the appointment was offered to Mr. Parsons, then in the most lucrative practice in Boston; but it was declined by him, unless the salary should first be made both honorable and permanent, in the spirit of the constitution. This measure was accordingly resolved on. His legal eminence rendered his appointment desirable on public grounds. It was an era of necessary reform and improvement in the law; to effect which his transcendent talents and extensive influence were deemed indispensable. Obnoxious as the bold and decided tone of his politics had rendered him to the democratic party, the friends of the measure, relying with confidence on the magnanimity of Mr. STORY, and his devotedness to the true interests of the commonwealth, at once intrusted to his hands the projection of the means to carry it into effect, and the superintendence of their execution. He accordingly moved the subject in the house of representatives, was appointed chairman of the committee to whom it was referred, and reported a bill fixing the salary of the chief justice at

twenty-five hundred dollars, and of his associates, at two thousand each. A proposition of this kind, never regarded with universal complacency, was at this time most furiously assailed. It was ably supported, also, from various quarters; but its fate, from the position in which Mr. STORY was placed, was wholly in his power; and to his vigorous efforts, and the earnest appeal of his commanding eloquence, it is but justice to accord the merit of its passage.

The same causes which led to the permanent establishment of these salaries in 1806, soon rendered it necessary that another effort should be made to augment them. The judicial administration of Chief Justice Parsons had fully satisfied the public anticipations; but the experiment, so far as the emoluments of office were concerned, had convinced him that in accepting it, he had sacrificed a portion of income, required for domestic expenses. He therefore came to the resolution of returning to the bar, unless the deficiency was supplied by the state. At this time, in 1809, the democratic party controlled all the branches of the legislature, and, flushed with recent success, felt little disposition to gratify a leading political adversary, especially in a grant of money; an application very naturally concentrating, in some degree, the opposition of political friends with foes. The alternative, too, of losing the public services of the chief justice, could not be urged with much hope of success on those who, in that case, would have the opportunity of appointing his successor. But Mr. STORY was still in the legislature, holding the same leading influence among his political friends; and his magnanimity and love of law and order, were again invoked, not in vain, to place the salaries of the judges on such an establishment as should suffice, at all times, to command for those eminently responsible offices, the first order of legal talent in the commonwealth. A bill for increasing the salary of the chief justice to thirty-five hundred dollars, and of his associates to three thousand, was accordingly reported; it was not only long and carefully considered, but was hotly debated; in the exertions made to defeat its passage, the blows fell with indiscriminate force upon all its supporters, and upon none more than on him who had again led the column of its friends; but it was at length triumphantly carried. His able report on this subject, embodying a convincing argument in favor of honorable and adequate provision for judicial officers, has been recently published in Ohio, on a similiar occasion. The period to which we have now alluded, was a crisis in the judicial affairs of the state. The judges were all of the federal party, and the usages of that day, impolitic as we now esteem them, seemed not only to permit but to require

from the court, in each charge given to the grand jury, a discourse on the political institutions of the country; and these it was hardly possible to expound, without discussing some of the essential doctrines of the two great political parties. Such expositions were in no sense welcome to the men then in power; and doubtless strengthened a determination already manifest, to remove their authors by any constitutional mode from the offices they were thus supposed to pervert. The most obvious and simple process was starvation; supported by an outcry against high salaries. Had this method been adopted, and the doctrine been openly and generally maintained by the party, that the emoluments of office were already too high, and must be reduced, the tone of political morals, at that day, would have bound the party to be consistent in making a general and extensive reduction; and it would not have been difficult to foresee the fate of the administration of public justice, confided, as its tribunals must in that case have been, to men of third and fourth rate abilities. It was necessary that this threatened evil should be speedily stayed, and the public mind disabused of the prejudices which were beginning to fasten upon it. And it is no disparagement to the other friends of sound policy and good order to state, that for this salutary change of sentiment, Massachusetts is chiefly indebted to the discernment, the straight forward honesty, and moral courage of Mr. STORY. Few young men, in the ascending node of political power, would have ventured on so bold a measure as openly to oppose the darling prejudices and passions of their friends; and it argues much for the good sense of these men, that such an attempt was permitted to be so completely successful. It is to the permanent and honorable provision thus made for the judges, that the people of that commonwealth may attribute the benefits they have since enjoyed from a wise, and dignified, and firm administration of justice.

It was during his continuance in the legislature, that the subject of a separate chancery jurisdiction attracted much of the public attention. The early fathers of the commonwealth, with their plain good sense, thought that their tribunals ought to be enabled to administer relief commensurate with the wrong received by the party; and that where the apparatus of the common law fell short of affording such relief, it ought to be supplied by equity. An act for this purpose was accordingly passed under the old colonial charter; but the royal assent being withheld, it was never carried into effect. Something, however, in the shape of equity, was subsequently administered by the governor and council; but unfortunately it became associated, in the minds of

the people, with other attributes of royalty, vested in the governor, and of course came to be regarded with jealousy and distrust. Yet the want of an equitable jurisdiction was constantly felt as a defect in the municipal code; and at the period to which we refer, an attempt was made to reform this department of justice, by the establishment of a separate court of chancery. The committee to whom this subject was referred, was raised on the motion of Mr. STORY; and their report was justly attributed to his powerful pen. The substance of it was afterward wrought by the author into a most instructive article on chancery jurisdiction, published in the North American Review.

In the year 1809, Mr. STORY was elected a representative to congress, to supply the vacancy in Essex South District, occasioned by the death of Mr. Crowninshield. He served but for the remainder of the term for which he was chosen, and declined a reëlection. But in that brief space, in two important movements, he gave earnest of the breadth and elevation of his views as a statesman, and of his deep devotedness to the policy of the father of his country. The first was a motion made by himself, for a committee to consider the expediency of a gradual increase of the navy; which he supported in a speech marked at the time for its power, but of which no report is known to be extant. Unfortunately for our naval prosperity, the blindness of party zeal had fastened on the first proposal for augmenting the naval force, in Washington's administration, as a topic of party denunciation. The clamor had been continued and increased under that of his successor, till the leaders of the democratic party felt themselves too deeply committed on the subject, to recede with honor or safety; and hostility to the system of naval defence, except in harbors by batteries and gun-boats, had become a cardinal article in the political faith of the party. Mr. STORY's resolution, therefore, was a little in advance of that political age. It was met, not with open argument, but was put down by a party vote, as a measure inconsistent with the policy and hostile to the interests of the existing administration.

The other great measure to which we allude, was the repeal of the embargo act. This statute, as a temporary resort, whether for the prevention of war, or as ancillary to other and ulterior preparations for that event, or as preparatory to negotiation for a firm and stable peace, had been sustained by the friends of the administration with exemplary generosity and forbearance. Its long continuance, however, in the absence of any apparently beneficial results, had begun to exhaust the patience of the people, whose urgent inquiries and demands had at length drawn from Mr. Jefferson the avowal that he

relied on the measure as an essential part of a permanent system of policy; and that in his opinion it was unwise in this nation "ever more to recur to the ocean." An avowal so startling rallied at once that independent class of his friends whose political creed was not contained in the formularies of a party, to attempt the removal of a system they deemed so fraught with ruin to the strength and resources of the nation. In this attempt, Mr. STORY bore an early, an active, and a conspicuous part; so efficient, indeed, as to draw from Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to General Dearborn, the complaint, which posterity will interpret as highly to his honor as it was intended otherwise, that, but for him, the repeal would not have been effected.

In the spring following his return from Washington, he was again elected to the house of representatives in Massachusetts; and in January, 1811, and again in May, on the organization of the new house, he was called to the speaker's chair. For the arduous and often delicate and embarrassing duties of that office, he was peculiarly fitted; and the writer distinctly recollects the full and consenting testimony of all parties, to the dignity, ability, and impartiality with which he discharged them.

It was in November, 1811, at the early age of thirty-two, that Mr. STORY was appointed one of the associate justices of the supreme court of the United States. Never was this high honor so early achieved; never more purely and worthily worn. Adjusting himself to the proprieties of the station to which he was called, he withdrew at once from the political arena; and though never an indifferent spectator of his country's fortunes, he has since participated in them, not as a partisan, but as a judge.

It may be proper in this place, to advert to the only other instance in which he has been called to serve the public in labors not purely juridical. In the year 1820, after the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, it became necessary to make some alterations in the constitution of the latter state, growing out of the exigencies of the occasion; and a convention was called for that purpose, of which Mr. Justice STORY was elected a member from Salem. It was a body altogether resplendent in talent; for no one could anticipate the changes which a spirit of innovation, if once aroused, might attempt; and hence the selection of members was generally made from the highest order of minds within the reach of the electors. In that assembly, his influence was most extensive and salutary; and his speeches, published as they were uttered from the stenographer's notes, and without revision, particularly his splendid speech on representa-

tion in the senate, attest the unabated fervor of his eloquence, and his great power as a debater.

To those who have been much in his society, or are familiar with even his professional writings, it would be superfluous to remark that he had been a votary of the muse; since a highly cultivated taste, and a lively sensibility to the beauties of poetry and the richer creations of the imagination, are so visible in his compositions. His gravest juridical discourses, though wrought in enduring marble, are still finished with the higher ornaments of intellectual affluence. Many were the poetical effusions recognised as his by the delighted circle of his youthful contemporaries; but we recollect none of any magnitude avowedly his own, except "The Power of Solitude," a poem of wider compass and more regular structure, which was published soon after he came to the bar, and constituted the most acceptable *souvenir* of that day. But though successfully cultivating elegant literature, he was not unmindful of the severer duties of the law, whose worth, he knew, would "not unsought, be won." In the year 1805, he published a selection of pleadings in civil actions, subsequent to the declaration, from the pleadings of the most eminent in this science, in England and America, with occasional annotations of his own. Previous to this time, the science of special pleading, in New England, was principally contained in the manuscript formularies, handed down from one generation of lawyers to another, with scarcely a note or comment. The appearance of this work, with its most valuable body of notes, gave a new impulse to study in this necessary branch of professional learning; and after the lapse of thirty years, it is still resorted to, with all the confidence originally reposed in its safety as a guide. The second edition, published in 1829, is rendered more valuable, not, as is often the case, by the correction of errors in the first, but merely by the addition of new matter.

The judicial duties of Mr. Justice STORY, other than those in the supreme court, have been confined to the first circuit, embracing the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island; and his judgments in this circuit are contained in the two volumes of Mr. Gallison's reports, and in the six volumes of Mr. Mason. His character and merits as a judge, it would be improper, at this time, critically to examine and discuss. But it may be stated, that on his coming to the bench, the principles of admiralty and maritime law were but imperfectly understood in this quarter of the union; their jurisdictional limits were ill-defined, and the practice in admiralty was almost literally without form. The reader of the first

volume of Mr. Gallison will not fail to be struck with the evidence of this great confusion of principles, and looseness of practice, by adverting to the points ruled by the court. We remember to have heard it remarked of the case of one, who, several years before, had been capitally arraigned in the district court of Maine, and, though defended by eminent counsel, was subsequently convicted and executed, that the exceptions, unavailingly taken in arrest of judgment, were founded chiefly on the common law; while a valid objection, peculiar to the national jurisprudence, was entirely overlooked. From this chaotic state these branches of the law have been redeemed, and brought to their present condition of beauteous symmetry and beneficial energy, by the labors of this most enlightened and accomplished judge; and were there no other memorials of the comprehensive variety and the exactness of his legal learning, his judgments in his own circuit, on these questions, would deliver him to posterity as an associate in all respects meet for the gifted mind which presides over our judicial department. It will be interesting to the professional reader, to be referred to his celebrated opinion in De Lovio v. Boit, 2 Gall. 398, a finished discourse in which the admiralty jurisdiction is asserted over all maritime contracts; to the case of the Greek ship, Jerusalem, 2 Gall. 345, where it is applied to material-men; and in Burke v. Trevit, 1 Mason 96, to wrongs, damages, and unlawful seizures at sea; to the case of the schooner Tilton, 5 Mason 465, in which it is extended to what are termed petitory suits, where the mere title to ships is litigated, independently of any possession; and to the masterly judgment in the case of La Jeune Eugénie, 2 Mason 409, in which the power of the admiralty is maintained to the extent of putting down the slave trade, as inconsistent with the law of nations, in all cases where it is not expressly legalized by the claimant's own sovereign. We are aware that this doctrine was subsequently qualified by the supreme court in the case of the Antelope; but in its leading principles, it is believed to have generally approved itself to the judgment of the profession.

The subject of seamen's wages has also been treated by him with equal fulness, and its principles settled in harmonious arrangement. The whole law on this subject will be found in his judgments, on the effect of capture and restitution, in the cases of the Saratoga, 2 Gall. 164, and Sheppard v. Taylor, 5 Pet. 675; of embezzlement, in Spurr v. Pearson, 1 Mason 104; of shipwreck and salvage in the two Catharines, 2 Mason 319; of misconduct and desertion of duty, in the Mentor, 4 Mason 84; and of sickness, in Harden v. Gordon, 2 Mason

541. For this last opinion, in which it is shown that the entire expenses of curing the sick seaman are a charge on the ship, including his support if he is carried ashore, and that no stipulation contrary to the maritime law, and injurious to the seaman, will be allowed to stand, unless an adequate compensation for it is shown, he is entitled to the lasting gratitude of the friends of humanity in the commercial world.

The administration of the law of prize, too, unsettled as it was, and almost unknown to the profession before the war of 1812, fell heavily to his share, in consequence of the extensive commerce of the north; and was discussed and illustrated with equal ability and learning. The proximity of the British dominions, the conquest of part of our territory by the enemy, the practice of trading under licenses, and of collusive captures, gave rise to a multitude of questions before him, embarrassing in their nature, the solution of which form a luminous commentary on this branch of the law.

It was, moreover, his singular fortune, to be obliged to revise and settle, and, with propriety it may almost be said, to create the American law of patents. Prior to his elevation to the bench, the restrictive policy of Mr. Jefferson had forced upon the commercial states the necessity of employing a great portion of capital in manufactures; and consequently had rendered every improvement in the mechanic arts of increased value to the inventor, and led to increased vigilance in securing this value to his own use. Hence, probably more questions of this kind have been litigated in the first circuit, than in the rest of the union. The author of the valuable treatise on the American law of patents justly acknowledges, what is apparent to the reader, that to the decisions of Mr. Justice STORY he is indebted for a great part of his work.

His familiarity with these departments of the law was not acquired at the expense of excellence in any other. In proof of this, we may refer to the equity cases of West v. Randall, 2 Mason 181, upon parties in equity; Dexter v. Arnold, 5 Mason 502, upon bills of review; Trecothic v. Austin, 4 Mason 16, upon the rights and liabilities of executors and administrators; and Prevost v. Gratz, 6 Wheat. 481, upon trusts; and to the common law cases of Fairfax's devisee v. Hunter, 7 Cranch, 603, upon the capacity of an alien to take and hold lands as a devisee; Green v. Liter, 8 Cranch 229, in which the principles of the writ of right are at large discussed; Halsey v. Whitney, 4 Mason 206, upon assignments by insolvent debtors; Tyler v. Wilkinson, 4 Mason 397, upon aquatic rights; and the celebrated

cases of Pawlet v. Clark, 9 Cranch 292, and Terret v. Taylor, ib. 43, in which he expounded, in a manner so lucid and universally acceptable, the origin of church property, the rights of the Episcopal Church to the glebe lands granted to it prior to the revolution, and the limits of the legislative power in relation to vested rights. These last two cases, and the important decision in Beatty v. Kurtz, 2 Pet. 566, developing the true doctrine of the dedication of lands to public uses, have settled interests and imparted quiet, in various parts of the union, to an extent of which few are aware.

His edition of Mr. Chitty's treatise on the law of bills of exchange and promissory notes, published in 1809, with a large body of well digested notes of the more recent decisions, was a most acceptable present to the profession. In the year 1810, he published an edition of the valuable treatise on the law of shipping by Mr. Abbot, afterwards Lord Tenterden, with notes of American statutes and cases; of which, in 1829, he published another edition, with an additional body of notes, including some English cases, overlooked by the author and his English editor. These notes, the whole of which were by him revised and recast, form a considerable portion of the work, which they have greatly enriched, leaving little to be desired on this subject.

A new professorship of law, in Harvard University, having been created, bearing the name of Dane, in honor of its munificent founder, Mr. Justice STORY was nominated, in the year 1829, to this chair. Upon this occasion, he removed his residence from Salem to Cambridge. The Royall professorship, in the same department, was simultaneously filled by the appointment of Mr. John Hooker Ashmun, a jurist distinguished alike for the vigor of his intellect, and the extent and accuracy of his learning. To the duties of this new office, accepted for the advancement of his favorite science, Mr. Justice STORY brought all the unabated energies and affections of his early manhood. The office has been no sinecure to him. It is discharged, not merely by reading, at stated periods, a written course of public lectures, but by close and daily personal examination of every student, in the subject of his daily studies; and he still continues, by active and full participation in the ordinary instruction of the law school, as well as in his public lectures, to afford advantages to the student, certainly not surpassed at any similar institution in the country.

One of the earliest fruits of his labors in this chair was the publication of commentaries on the law of bailments, being the substance of his lectures in this branch of the law. In the method of this work, he followed the example of Domat and Pothier; and has not only

incorporated into the text every position in their treatises which could be of any use to a student of the common law, but may be said to have exhausted the works of the other writers, both in the civil and common law, of whatever could illustrate the subject or add to its value. The appearance of this work seems to have given occasion in England, not to an English edition of the same treatise, but to a reprint of the essay of Sir William Jones on bailments, the inaccuracy of which, in many essential particulars, has long been confessed; accompanied, however, by a full body of notes, nearly all of which are taken from these commentaries, though not credited to the author with that distinctness which the circumstances would seem to require.

His commentaries on the constitution of the United States, were published in the year 1833, in three volumes. The work is comprised in three great divisions, of which the first embraces a sketch of the charters, constitutional history, and ante-revolutionary jurisprudence of the colonies; the second contains a review of the constitutional history of the states, during the revolution, and the rise, progress, decline, and fall of the confederation; and the third embraces the history of the rise and adoption of the constitution, a full exposition of all its provisions, with the reasons on which they were respectively founded, the objections by which they were assailed, and such illustrations, drawn from contemporaneous documents and subsequent operations of the government, as may best enable the reader to estimate the true value of each. This work, admirable for its depth of research, its spirited and interesting historical sketches, and its treasures of political wisdom, has accomplished all which the friends of constitutional law and liberty could desire. It has since been abridged by the author, in one volume, for the use of the American universities and higher seminaries; and its elements have been wrought into a political class-book, for the subordinate departments of instruction.

If, among Americans in general, his fame may be regarded as resting chiefly on this masterly history and exposition of their constitution, perhaps jurists, both at home and abroad, will speak of him with stronger emphasis as the author of commentaries on the conflict of laws, foreign and domestic, which he published in the year 1834. In this most valuable work, the conflicting laws of different nations are treated with especial reference to marriages, divorces, wills, successions, and judgments. It has already received the highest commendation from enlightened and learned men in this country, and in England, Germany, and France; and has been reprinted in London,

with the deliberate opinion of a late eminent Scottish judge, that "no jurist can peruse it, without admiration of the industry, candor, and learning with which it has been composed." It can be of no importance to settle the comparative merits of these two great works, as the basis of professional fame. *Uno remoto, non deficit alter.*

In addition to these graver labors, he assisted in the collection of the charters and laws of the colony and province of Massachusetts, the publication of which was superintended by him, in conjunction with Mr. Dane and Mr. William Prescott. He also published, in the year 1828, a revised edition of the statutes of the United States.

Works like these would seem amply to have discharged the debt which every man is said to owe to his profession; and a mark far lower would have satisfied the desires of many an aspirant after honorable fame. But the exhaustless learning and untiring diligence of this accomplished scholar, have left us yet others, whose titles are nearly all which our limits will permit us to record. His review of Professor Hoffman's Course of Legal Study, may be found in the sixteenth number of the North American Review. The twenty-first number of that journal, contains his review of Jacobson's Sea Laws, comprising a beautiful compend of the history, and an account of the writers on commercial law. In the twenty-eighth number he reviewed Mr. Johnson's Chancery Reports, in an able and learned discourse on that branch of jurisprudence; the forty-sixth is enriched with an elaborate article on commercial law, with a review of Mr. Phillips' Treatise on the Law of Insurance; the fifty-second number contains a review of Mr. Dane's Abridgment of American Law; and in the fifty-eighth, and also in the first volume of this work, may be found his highly finished sketches of the life and public services of Mr. Chief Justice Marshall. To these are to be added his contributions to the law department of the Encyclopædia Americana, under the title of the Congress of the United States — Contract — Courts of the United States — Criminal law — Punishment by death — Domicil — Equity — Jury — Lien — Law, legislation, codes — Natural law — National law — Prize — Usury. The memorial of the inhabitants of Salem against the British orders in council, in 1807, and that of their merchants, in 1820, on the subject of the tariff, were also from his pen.

In the subject of education, both elementary and scientific, Mr. Justice Story, amid all his other employments, has found time to evince the deep and beneficial interest he has felt; not only in contributing his full proportion of lectures to the lyceums and institutions of education, but in effectual and acti e coöperation in the govern-

ment of Harvard University. He was elected an overseer of that institution in the year 1818; and, in 1825, was chosen a fellow of the corporation. In January of that year, when still an overseer, he delivered at the board an argument against the memorial of the professors and tutors, who claimed an exclusive right of being candidates for election as fellows of the corporation, replete with characteristic research, not only into the law relating to the question, but into the statutes and usages of the English colleges. The substance of this argument was published in the first volume of the American Jurist.

Among his published discourses and addresses, are his charge to the grand jury at the first circuit court held in Maine, in the year 1820; his address to the gentlemen of the Suffolk bar, in the same year; his eulogies on Mr. Samuel Dexter and Mr. Chief Justice Parker; and his biographical notices of Mr. William Pinckney, Mr. Justice Washington, and Mr. Justice Trimble; his discourse at the anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, in the year 1825; his centennial address before the Essex Historical Society, in 1828, upon the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the colony of "the Massachusetts;" a discourse before the Mechanics' Institute of Boston; an address at the consecration of the rural cemetery of Mount Auburn; his discourse upon the occasion of his own inauguration as Dane Professor of Law, in 1829; and another, in 1833, at the funeral of his colleague, the late Professor Ashmun.

Such, and so actively useful, has hitherto been the life of this eminent public benefactor; of whose character and services we have merely recorded the verdict of his contemporaries. Posterity will describe him in his own glowing but just delineation of a kindred mind. "Whatever subject he touched, was touched with a master's hand and spirit. He employed his eloquence to adorn his learning, and his learning to give solid weight to his eloquence. He was always instructive and interesting, and rarely without producing an instantaneous conviction. A lofty ambition of excellence, that stirring spirit, which breathes the breath of heaven, and pants for immortality, sustained his genius in its perilous course. He became, what he intended, the jurist of the commercial world; and could look back upon a long track illumined with glory."

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON was born at Berkley, the family seat of his father, on James river, twenty-five miles from Richmond, Virginia, in the year 1773. He was the youngest of three sons of Benjamin Harrison, a descendant of the celebrated leader of the same name in the wars of Cromwell. Benjamin Harrison acted a conspicuous part in our own revolutionary struggle, and was one of the most active of that daring band who set the ball in motion. He represented Virginia in congress in the years 1774, '75, and '76; he was urged by a strong party in the house to preside over that body, on the resignation of his brother-in-law, Peyton Randolph; but he declined the distinction, and nominated John Hancock. It has been stated on contemporary authority, that he almost carried that modest but daring patriot into the chair, on his at first declining to occupy it. He was chairman of the committee of the whole house when the Declaration of Independence was agreed to, and was one of the illustrious signers of that act. He was afterwards a member of the house of delegates in the legislature of Virginia, and filled the office of speaker until 1782, when he succeeded Governor Nelson in the executive chair of that state.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON was placed, at an early age, at the college of Hampden Sydney, which he left at the age of seventeen, his mind well imbued with classical literature, and deeply impressed with admiration of the principles of republican Greece and Rome. In obedience to the wishes of his father, whose hospitable and liberal conduct through life prevented him from promising wealth to his son, he entered on the study of medicine; and after a short preparatory course he repaired, in the spring of 1791, to Philadelphia, to prosecute his studies with greater advantage. The death of his distinguished parent, immediately after his arrival, checked his professional aspirations; and the "note of preparation" which was sounding through the country, for a campaign against the Indians of the west, decided his destiny. He resolved to enter into the service of his government, and

to create a name for himself worthy of his father. His guardian, the celebrated Robert Morris, opposed his wishes with all the eloquence of his great mind; but it was in vain that he placed the enterprise before the enthusiastic youth in all its hardships and privations. In order to deter him from his project, he painted an Indian war in a remote and untried wilderness in the darkest colors; he spoke of victory, against such foes, as not involving glory; but of defeat, as insuring disgrace. The remonstrances of his friend and guardian were fruitless, and General Washington at length yielded to the importunities of the youth; he presented him with an ensign's commission. With characteristic ardor he departed for Fort Washington, now Cincinnati; where, however, he arrived too late to participate in the unfortunate campaign. The fatal 4th of November had passed, and he was only in time to learn the earliest intelligence of the death of Butler, and of Oldham, and of the unparalleled massacre of the army of St. Clair.

The return of the broken troops had no effect in damping the zeal of young HARRISON. He devoted himself ardently to the study of the theory of the higher tactics; his education gave him advantages possessed by few young soldiers of that day; and when, in the succeeding year, the gallant Wayne assumed the command, Ensign HARRISON was immediately noticed by this experienced commander, and selected by him for one of his aids. The judicious movements of the new army, and the success which crowned the campaign under Wayne, are a brilliant portion of our history. HARRISON distinguished himself handsomely in the affair of *Roche de Bouc*, and his chief did him the justice to name him specially in the official report of the engagement.

After the treaty of Greenville, 1795, Captain HARRISON was left in command of Fort Washington; and shortly after the departure of General Wayne for the Atlantic states, he married the daughter of Judge Symmes, the proprietor of the Miami purchase. The writer of this brief sketch cannot let the opportunity slip, without offering a passing tribute to the virtues of this estimable woman. She is distinguished for her benevolence and her piety; all who know her, view her with esteem and affection; and her whole course through life, in all its relations, has been characterized by those qualifications that complete the character of an accomplished matron.

The idleness and dissipation of a garrison life comported neither with the taste nor active temper of Captain HARRISON. He resigned his commission, and commenced his civil career, at the age of twenty-four years, as secretary of the north-western territory. His capacity

was soon noticed by the leaders in the new territory, and he was elected, in 1799, the first delegate in congress for that extensive region, now comprising the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the territory of Michigan. The first and general object of his attention as a representative, was an alteration of the land system of the territory. The law, as it then existed, ordained that not less than four thousand acres, (except in particular cases of fractions on the banks of rivers,) could be sold at once. The operation of such an ordinance must have been fatal to that class of population, whose industry and labor have since caused the country to advance with such rapid strides to wealth and greatness; it was alone calculated to benefit the speculator and rich monopolist. He was appointed chairman of the committee on lands, (the only instance, it is believed, in the history of our legislation, in which a delegate was so distinguished,) and with the aid of the able men who coöperated with him, he presented the celebrated Land Report, based on his own previous motion. A bill was framed, and after undergoing some amendments in the senate, was passed into a law, by which one half of the public lands were divided into sections of six hundred and forty acres, and the other into half sections of three hundred and twenty acres. The old system of forfeiture for non payment was abolished, and payment ordered to be made, one fourth in hand, and the balance at the end of two, three, and four years, allowing still one year, after the expiration of the fourth year, to enable the purchaser to extricate himself, if necessary. This was a point gained, although it was not all the delegate contended for. To this measure is to be imputed the rapid settlement of the country; and if Mr. Harrison had then been called from this world, without rendering any other service to his country, he would richly have merited the title of benefactor of the territory north-west of the Ohio.

The reputation acquired by the young delegate from his legislative success, created a party in his favor, who intimated a desire that he should supersede the venerable governor of the territory. But Mr. Harrison checked the development of this feeling as soon as it was made known to him. He cherished too high a veneration for the pure and patriotic St. Clair; he had too just an estimate of the splendid talents of the governor, and too much sympathy for the war-worn, though sometimes unfortunate hero, to sanction an attempt, which, whether successful or not, would have inflicted one more pang in the bosom of the veteran. A soldier can best feel for a soldier; he declined the interference of his friends, and the subject was dropped. But when, shortly after, Indiana was erected into a separate territory

he was appointed by Mr. Adams the first governor. Previously, however, to quitting congress, he was present at the discussion of the bill for the settlement of Judge Symmes's purchase; and although this gentleman was his father-in-law, he took an active part in favor of those individuals who had purchased from him before he had obtained his patent. It was viewed as a matter of doubt, whether those who had sued the judge in the courts of common law, would be entitled to the remedy in equity against him. He went before the committee in person, and urged them to insert a provision in their favor. Nor did he desist until assured by the attorney-general and Mr. Harper, that these persons came fully under the provisions of the act as it then stood. This was the impulse of stern duty; for at the moment he was thus engaged, he considered himself as jeoparding a large pecuniary interest of his father-in-law.

In 1801, Governor HARRISON entered upon the duties of his new office at the old military post of Vincennes. The powers with which he was vested by law have never, since the organization of our government, been conferred upon any other officer,* civil or military; and the arduous character of the duties he had to perform, can only be appreciated by those who are acquainted with the savage and cunning temper of the north-western Indians; with the genius of the early pioneers, and the nature of a frontier settlement. The dangers of such actions as the battle of Tippecanoe, the defence of Fort Meigs, and the battle of the Thames, are appreciated and felt by all; and the victories which were consequent upon them have crowned the victors with a never fading wreath: but these acts, brilliant as they were, fade when put in comparison with the unremitting labor and exposure to which, for many years after the organization of the first grade of territorial government, the new executive was exposed. The whole territory consisted of three settlements, so widely separated that it was impossible for them to contribute to their mutual defence or encouragement. The first was Clarke's Grant at the falls of Ohio; the second, the old French establishment at Vincennes; and the third extended from Kaskaskia to Kahokia, on the Mississippi; the whole comprising a population of about five thousand souls. The territory thus defenceless, presented a frontier, assailable almost at every point, on the north-east, north, and north-west boundaries. Numerous tribes of warlike Indians were thickly scattered throughout the northern por-

* Among his duties was that of commissioner to treat with the Indians. In this capacity he concluded fifteen treaties, and purchased their title to upwards of seventy millions of acres of land.

tion of the territory, and far beyond its limits, whose hostile feelings were constantly inflamed by the intrigues of British agents and traders, if not by the immediate influence of the English government itself, and not unfrequently by the uncontrollable outrages of the American hunters themselves; a circumstance which it always has been found impossible to prevent, in the early settlement of the west. Governor HARRISON applied himself with characteristic energy and skill. It seems truly miraculous to us, when we retrospect into the early history of his government, that he should have been able to keep down Indian invasion in the infant state of the territory, seeing the great capacity the savages displayed for harassing him at a period when his resources and means had so much increased. The fact proclaims loudly the talents of the chief. Justice tempered by mildness; conciliation and firmness, accompanied by a never slumbering watchfulness; were the means he used. These enabled him to surmount difficulties, under which an ordinary capacity must have been prostrated. The voluminous correspondence of Governor HARRISON with Mr. Jefferson, from 1802 till 1809, is a recorded testimony of the ability and success of his administration.

During the year 1811, however, the intrigues of British agents operating on the passions of the Indians, brought affairs to a crisis which rendered hostilities unavoidable. Tecumthe, and his prophet brother, had been laboring unceasingly, since 1805, to bring about this result. HARRISON called upon Colonel Boyd of the 4th United States regiment, then at Pittsburgh (who immediately joined him), and embodied a militia force as strong as the emergency would permit. To these were added a small but gallant band of chivalrous volunteers from Kentucky, consisting of about sixty-five individuals. With these he commenced his march towards the prophet's town at Tippecanoe. On the sixth of November he arrived in sight of the Indian village, and in obedience to his orders made several fruitless attempts to negotiate with the savages. Finding it impossible to bring them to any discussion, he resolved to encamp for the night, under a promise from the chiefs to hold a conference next day. He sent forward Brigade Major Clarke, and Major Waller Taylor, to select a proper position for the encampment. These officers shortly after returned, and reported that they had found a situation well calculated for the purpose, and on examination, the commander approved of it. Subsequent examination has proved that the ground was admirably adapted to baffle the success of a sudden attack, the only kind which the great experience of HARRISON assured him would be attempted. The men reposed upon the

spot which each, individually, should occupy, in case of attack. The event justified the anticipations of the chief. On the morning of the 7th, before daylight, the onset was made with the usual yells and impetuosity. But the army was ready; HARRISON had risen some time before, and had roused the officers near him. Our limits do not permit us to enter into a detail of the action; the arrangement of the troops was masterly, and spoke the well educated and experienced soldier. The Indians fought with their usual desperation, and maintained their ground for some time with extraordinary courage. Victory declared in favor of discipline, at the expense, however, of some of the most gallant spirits of the age. Among the slain were Colonels Daveis and Owen of Kentucky, and Captain Spencer of Indiana. Governor HARRISON received a bullet through his stock, without touching his neck. The legislature of Kentucky, at its next session, whilst in mourning for her gallant dead, passed the following resolution, viz:

"*Resolved*, That Governor WILLIAM H. HARRISON has behaved like a hero, a patriot, and general; and that for his cool, deliberate, skilful, and gallant conduct, in the battle of Tippecanoe, he well deserves the thanks of the nation."

From this period, until after the declaration of war against England, Governor HARRISON was unremittingly engaged in negotiating with the Indians, and preparing to resist a more extended attack from them. In August, 1812, he received the brevet of major general in the Kentucky militia, to enable him to command the forces marching to relieve Detroit. He immediately applied himself to the proper organization of his army on the north-western frontier. The surrender of Hull changed the face of affairs; he was appointed a major general in the army of the United States, and his duties embraced a larger sphere. Every thing was in confusion, and every thing was to be done; money, arms, and men were to be raised. It is under circumstances like these that the talents of a great general are developed more powerfully than in conducting a battle. To do justice to this part of the biography of HARRISON requires a volume of itself. Becoming stronger from reverses, collecting munitions of war, and defending Fort Meigs, were the prominent features of his operations, until we find him in pursuit of Proctor on the Canadian shore. On the 5th of October, 1813, he brought the British army and their Indian allies, under Proctor and Tecumthe, to action, near the river Thames. The victory achieved by militia over the disciplined troops of England, on this brilliant day, was decisive; and like the battle of the Cowpens in the war of the Revolution, spread joy and animation over the whole Union. For this

important action congress presented General HARRISON with a gold medal. The success of the day is mainly attributable to the novel expedient of charging through the British lines with mounted infantry. The glory of originating this manœuvre belongs exclusively to General HARRISON.*

The north-western frontier being relieved, and important aid given to that of Niagara, General HARRISON left his troops at Sacket's Harbor, under the command of Colonel Smith, and departed for Washington by the way of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. On the whole route he was received with enthusiasm, and honored with the highest marks of distinction that can be offered to a citizen by a republican people.

Owing to a misunderstanding between Mr. Secretary Armstrong and himself, General HARRISON resigned his commission in the spring of 1814. Mr. Madison sincerely deplored this step, and assured Governor Shelby, in a letter written immediately after the resignation, "that it would not have been accepted had he been in Washington. It was received and accepted by Secretary Armstrong, while the president was absent at the Springs.

General HARRISON retired to his farm at North Bend, in Ohio, from which he was successively called by the people, to represent them in the congress of the United States, and in the legislature of the state. In 1824–5, he was elected to the senate of the United States; and in 1828, he was appointed minister to Colombia, which station he held until he was recalled by President Jackson, not for any alleged fault, but in consequence of some difference of views on the Panama question. General HARRISON again returned to the pursuits of agriculture at North Bend. In 1834, on the almost unanimous petition of the citizens of the county, he was appointed prothonotary of the court of Hamilton county, which office he attends to in person.

HARRISON is distinguished by a generosity and liberality of feeling, which has been exercised beyond what strict justice to himself and family should have permitted. With ample opportunity of amassing immense wealth, he has ever disdained to profit by his public situation for private emolument. His theory was too rigidly honest to permit him to engage in speculation, and his chivalry was too sensitive to permit him to use the time belonging to his country for private benefit. After forty years devotion to his duties in the highest stations, both

* This claim must not be considered as in the least detracting from the merit of Colonel Johnson, by whom the mounted men were led to the charge, and by whom the manœuvre was successfully and gallantly executed.—ED.

civil and military, he finds it necessary in the evening of life, to exert his energies for the comfort of a large family. Happy for them it is, that the extreme temperance and simplicity of his habits have preserved those energies, both physical and mental, in almost youthful vigor.

M. N.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

THE subject of this memoir is the eldest son of Abraham Van Buren, an upright and intelligent citizen of the state of New York, whose ancestors were among the most respectable of those emigrants from Holland, who established themselves on the banks of the Hudson, in the earliest period of our colonial history. His mother, Maria Goes, a woman of excellent sense and pleasing manners, was also of Dutch descent. They died at advanced ages, the former in 1814, the latter in 1818, having lived to witness and enjoy the prosperity and well merited reputation of their son, not less distinguished by the unabated warmth of his personal affections, than by the public honors he had already received.

MARTIN VAN BUREN was born at Kinderhook, in the county of Columbia, and state of New York, on the fifth of December, 1782. In early boyhood, he displayed endowments so superior, that his father resolved to educate him for the law, a science for which he evinced both fitness and predilection. After obtaining the best course of instruction which the schools of the neighborhood afforded, he entered, in 1797, the office of Francis Sylvester, a lawyer of Kinderhook, and a man of estimable private character. Aspiring, from the first, to distinction, his legal studies were pursued with great zeal; he was early aware of the competition with able men in which he would be involved; and having nothing to hope from patronage or connections, he resolved to neglect no personal exertion that might promise future success. He remained with Mr. Sylvester nearly six years. Although his time, during this period, was chiefly engaged by his studies, and by the other duties of a law student, yet, as he grew up, he could not fail to become interested in the exciting political events which marked the close of the last century. His father, who had been actively devoted to the American cause during the revolution, had espoused the principles of the democratic party on the formation of the national government, and was among the earliest supporters of Mr. Jefferson when he became its leader. His son

early adopted the same sentiments; and though the gentleman with whom he was studying, and most of his youthful associates, belonged to the opposite party, then in the ascendant, yet he steadily maintained his opinions, and soon distinguished himself by his addresses at public meetings, and by other efforts, as a champion in their defence. This course secured for him the confidence of the neighboring democracy, and while yet young in years, he took a part in the contests of the day, as active and efficient as that of veteran politicians. He perceived that the differences of opinion then agitating the country, were not merely ideal, and that the distinctions of party were something more than those of faction or ambition; that under such circumstances, every one who felt an interest in public events, must adopt the views of one or the other, and that it became a duty to sustain those which the honest reflections of each individual taught him to consider best calculated to enforce the constitution, and promote the welfare of his country. The confidence reposed in him by his fellow-citizens holding similar sentiments, and the reputation for talent he had already acquired, were evinced by his being selected, when only eighteen, as a representative in a republican convention of delegates from the counties of Rensselaer and Columbia. From that time his connection with the politics of the country, has never been intermitted.

Towards the close of 1802, and with a view to his approaching admission to the bar, he went to the city of New York, and completed his studies in the office of William P. Van Ness, then an able lawyer there, and afterwards the district judge of the United States for the southern district of New York. In November, 1802, he received his license to practise as an attorney of the supreme court, and immediately returned to Kinderhook, where he commenced professional business. At the succeeding term of the county courts, he was admitted as an attorney and counsellor, and thus enrolled among the members of the Columbia bar, then and afterwards exceedingly distinguished in the professional history of the state. About the same time he made his first appearance as an elector, and acting in common with the great body of the democratic party, supported Morgan Lewis as governor of New York, in opposition to Aaron Burr. From this time till February, 1807, the exertions of Mr. VAN BUREN as an advocate, were necessarily confined to the county courts, but at that period, the requisite term having expired, he was admitted as a counsellor of the supreme court. The field of exertion was now fairly opened to him. It was one where he could win no honor without

constant industry and high talent. He found men of distinguished ability practising at the same bar. To the natural opposition of professional rivalry was added that of politics, the able lawyers in his vicinity being also formidable political adversaries. The conflict rapidly confirmed the powers of the youthful barrister; and his forensic talent, skill, and success soon equalled those with which he was called on to contend. In 1808, he was first appointed to a public office, that of surrogate of Columbia county, which he held for several years. In 1809, the increase of his business induced him to remove to Hudson, the capital of the county, which continued to be his place of residence during the next six years.

As the professional reputation of Mr. VAN BUREN became more extended, his influence and activity in public affairs were not diminished. From the commencement of his career, and for many years after his removal to Hudson, his political friends were in the minority of his own county; but this only served to augment his exertions, and to confirm his sentiments, especially during the times of high excitement which preceded the declaration of war with Great Britain. He had always been among those who labored to awaken, in our councils, a spirit of resistance towards the invaders of our neutral rights, and as the crisis approached, his position enabled him to do so with great efficiency. In 1812, he was elected for the term of four years to the senate of New York, in which body he took his seat in the following November. He at once promoted and supported every measure, calculated to aid or strengthen the general government, in carrying on the war. In the spring of 1813, he wrote an address to the electors of the state, issued by the republican members of the legislature, in which he enforced with energy and eloquence, as well as with effect, the duty of sustaining the administration with all the influence and resources of the state. During the subsequent session, his task became more arduous. The federal party had a majority in the house of assembly, though the friends of the administration continued to prevail in the senate. In the animated discussions to which this necessarily led, Mr. VAN BUREN was a principal speaker on the floor of the senate, and at the public conferences sometimes held by the two bodies. On all these occasions he highly distinguished himself, both by the eloquence of his speeches, and the readiness and dexterity he displayed in debates, eagerly listened to by much excited audiences. In every measure that was devised, in the bills brought forward, in the state papers issued, his untiring industry, clear intellect, and steady purpose were strikingly and successfully developed.

In the year 1814, the political friends of Mr. VAN BUREN regained their ascendency in the house of assembly, and his efforts were consequently attended with more success. During a special session, convened in the autumn by Governor Tompkins, he took the lead in debate, and brought forward measures of a very decided character. Of these, the most prominent, as it was certainly one of the most energetic ever adopted in this country, was a law, framed with reference to property as well as persons, for raising immediately, through the agency of classes, twelve thousand men, to be placed at the disposal of the general government. This he introduced and carried against the most strenuous opposition. He so arranged the details as to avoid many of the obnoxious features of the militia law, and to place on the wealth of the state a due share of the burden of its defence. The strong measures of the session having been objected to, in the council of revision, by Chancellor Kent, their validity and merits were afterwards discussed in the newspapers, and several essays of great ability were written by Mr. VAN BUREN, in reply to a series attributed to the chancellor himself. At the ensuing session, which commenced in January, 1815, he again took the lead in support of the war, and was actually engaged, as the chairman of a committee, in framing additional measures for that end, when the express bringing the news of peace reached Albany.

His ability and reputation, both as a lawyer and politician, now deservedly indicated him for the office of attorney-general of the state, and to that he was accordingly appointed, in February 1815. He was also chosen, about the same time, one of the regents of the university, and soon after removed his residence to Albany. Though the labors of his profession were thus increased, he did not retire from the senate. Reëlected to that body in 1816, he continued to be found, for the four succeeding years, among the supporters of every measure connected with the welfare of the state. He was especially a leading advocate of the great system of internal improvement, which was commenced about that time, and has since, by its success, conferred so much honor and advantage on the people of New York. The actual foundation of that system was laid by the passage of two laws, the one in 1816, the other in 1817; the former authorizing preparatory surveys, and the latter providing for the construction of the canals. Serious diversity of opinion upon the subject existed among men of all parties. Most of the political friends of Mr. VAN BUREN, who then constituted a majority in the senate, were very decidedly opposed to the measure; and as his influence with them was great, the deepest inter-

est was felt in regard to his own conduct. It was at once prompt and most efficient; and the uniform aid which those important public works have received at his hands, is well known and justly appreciated by his fellow-citizens. A political opponent* has given the following account of his course, relative to the two laws in question. "The bill (of 1816) was taken up in committee of the whole, on the 16th (of April), on motion of Mr. Van Vechten. On motion of Mr. VAN BUREN, it was amended, by striking out all those parts which went to authorize the commencement of the work, and making it altogether preparatory, by directing the procurement of more accurate surveys and estimates. The reasons for this course were stated by Mr. VAN BUREN at considerable length. 'It being evident,' he said, 'to his mind, that the legislature did not possess sufficient information to justify the passage of a law, authorizing the commencement of the work, and apprehending that the measure might be prejudiced in the public mind by inconsiderate legislation, he believed this to be the safer course.' His amendment was adopted by a vote of twenty to nine." It may here be remarked that almost all the western members, the most zealous advocates of the measure, ultimately yielded their assent to these views. Passing to the bill of 1817, the writer adds, "On the 14th, the discussion was resumed, when Mr. Elmendorf, of Ulster, and Mr. P. R. Livingston, of Dutchess, successively spoke at length in opposition. Mr. Tibbits made a very sound and judicious reply, and was followed by Mr. VAN BUREN, also in favor of the bill. This was Mr. VAN BUREN'S great speech of the session, and it was indeed a masterly effort. I took notes of the whole debate at the time; but being then young in the business of reporting, and this being the first time I had ever attempted to follow Mr. VAN BUREN, whose utterance is too rapid for an unpractised pen, and whose manner was on that occasion too interesting to allow a reporter to keep his eyes upon his paper, my effort was little more than a failure. * * When Mr. VAN BUREN resumed his seat, Mr. Clinton, who had been an attentive listener in the senate chamber, breaking through that reserve which political divisions had created, approached him, and expressed his thanks for his exertions, in the most flattering manner. * * In the course of this day's sitting a very important motion was made by Mr. VAN BUREN with success. The bill, as it passed the assembly, authorized the loans to be made on the canal fund only; and that was the best form in which

* Appendix to Hosack's Memoir of De Witt Clinton.

it could, in the first instance, be passed in that body. The vital importance of extending the security, was at that time fully appreciated by the friends of the canal, and has been amply confirmed by experience. The amendment was adopted by a vote of sixteen to eleven. The result was that the bill was successfully carried through both houses, in the course of the evening session of the same day, and sent to the council of revision. It became a law on the following day, viz. the 15th day of April. Under this act the first meeting of the commissioners, to receive proposals and make contracts, preparatory to the actual commencement of the work, was held at Utica, on the 3d of July, 1817."

Continuing to act uniformly with his political associates of the republican party, and sustaining with ability, certainly not surpassed if equalled by any of his coadjutors, the particular views which they deemed most conducive to the public interest, Mr. VAN BUREN had now become their acknowledged leader, as he was decidedly among the first in their confidence and affections. In the revolutions of party politics, one so distinguished could not avoid some reverses; and those with whom he acted having, in the year 1819, lost the control of the appointing power, he was removed from the office of attorney-general. It was not long, however, before he was summoned by his fellow-citizens to a station of higher interest. He had, for some time, warmly advocated a convention for amending the state constitution, which he considered defective in many particulars. A law for the convocation of one was passed by the legislature, and it assembled at the capital in the year 1821. Mr. VAN BUREN though a resident of Albany, was, unexpectedly to himself, returned as a member by the electors of Otsego county, and took his seat as their representative. His speeches in the convention are evidences at once of his ability, and of the soundness, moderation, and justice which characterized his opinions on the various principles of government brought into elaborate discussion. He resisted every measure of which he believed the operation would be personal or partial, even when it emanated from his own political associates; while he labored to infuse into the new constitution a broader republican spirit, he anxiously endeavored so to temper it, that the just balance of influence, responsibility, and power might be always preserved; and the people of New York certainly owe to him, in no small degree, a system of government, doubtless among the best that has been formed in any of the states of our union.

From this convention, Mr. VAN BUREN was called to represent his native state, in the senate of the United States. To that honorable

office he was elected, by the legislature of New York, in the same year. In December, 1821, he took his seat there as the colleague of Rufus King, a statesman with whom indeed he differed on many questions of fundamental policy, but to whose high talents no one more willingly did justice, as certainly no one was better able to appreciate or to cope with them. He continued in the senate more than seven years, being reëlected on the expiration of his first term, and in that enlarged field displayed the same abilities, and soon acquired the same elevated rank, which he had maintained in the more limited sphere afforded by the councils of his own state. In the discussion of all great questions of public policy, his opinions were promptly and ably expressed. The consistency and decision which had early secured the confidence of his friends, still distinguished him. Several subjects occurred which strongly agitated the public mind, and certainly affected in no small degree the interests and feelings of various portions of the American people; on each of these the views of Mr. VAN BUREN were candidly and eloquently given, and although they who differed with him may dispute their correctness, they were approved by the great mass of those with whom he had always acted on political questions, and whose political principles had in general coincided with his own.

One of the earliest of the discussions, involving principles of policy, was that relative to the protection of domestic manufactures, by imposing high duties on foreign merchandise. On this, his views were stated without reserve, and sustained in many able speeches. He held the establishment of commercial regulations, with a view to the encouragement of our own productions, to be within the constitutional power of congress: but while he entertained that opinion, he was always opposed to such an exercise of the power, as might produce an oppressive inequality upon any portion of our citizens, or be of advantage to one section of the union, at the expense of another; on the contrary, he asserted it was the sacred duty of those who administered the government, so to direct its operations as to distribute equally its burdens and blessings among the several states and the people. These wise and liberal sentiments were made, not unfrequently, topics of accusation in his own state; but while he always gave his vote according to what he believed to be the wishes and instructions of his constituents, holding that to be a cardinal duty of a representative, yet he never ceased to urge conciliation and forbearance, with all the influence he derived from public confidence. In addition to his speeches in the senate, he communicated his sentiments at large to the people, in a masterly address, delivered at a public meeting in Albany, in 1827.

He was early sensible how much the preservation of our union depended upon the exercise of a wise discretion on this point; he saw the mischief of excessive revenue on one hand, and the benefits of a strict economy on the other; and he endeavored to bring about that dispassionate consideration, especially in his own state, which would afford the best guaranty for the interests of all. Undoubtedly his conduct greatly contributed to produce a state of feeling which has since led to the most fortunate results.

The constitutional right of congress to appropriate money, for the construction of improvements in the separate states, had been seriously questioned before Mr. VAN BUREN became a senator; but by degrees the practice had increased, and with its increase became a subject of more controversy and importance. Strongly admiring, and desirous to aid these works, as he had evinced by sustaining the noble efforts of his own state, he was willing to encourage all such as he deemed to be within the sphere of the general government; but he believed that it was neither according to the intent of the constitution, nor wise in policy, to interfere where the power and resources of the states themselves could be legally exercised.

In addition to questions such as these, Mr. VAN BUREN devoted himself specially to many subjects, which, if they involved less of apparent and immediate consequence, were yet of deep and lasting interest. When in the legislature of New York, he had proposed a bill to abolish imprisonment for debt, except in cases of fraud, malicious injury, or gross breaches of trust; and these efforts he renewed for several successive years, till at last a change of sentiment favorable to so wise and benevolent a system was created. When transferred to the senate of the United States, he distinguished himself by his eager coöperation with Colonel Richard M. Johnson, then a senator from Kentucky, in endeavoring to efface from the national code the same provision, and his remarks on the subject were full of ability and eloquence. In behalf of the surviving soldiers of the revolution, he exerted himself with even more than his usual zeal. He spared no effort to obtain the favorable decision of congress upon a bill introduced on their behalf, by a committee of which he was a member. One of his speeches, which has been reported at large, is among the most eloquent as well as the most conclusive ever called forth by that interesting subject from the lips of genius or the heart of patriot gratitude.

After a career, of somewhat less than eight years, thus eminently distinguished, Mr. VAN BUREN was recalled by the citizens of New York to his own state. Having been elected governor, he resigned

his place in the senate, and on the first of January, 1829, entered upon that office. His administration was short, but it was marked by a successful effort to introduce salutary provisions for the independence and security of elections; and still more by at least one measure, among the most striking and important in the financial history of the United States. Every one had become alarmed at the evident insecurity of many of the banking institutions of the state, arising sometimes from fraud, sometimes from imprudence, sometimes perhaps from misfortune, but always most injurious to the community. One of the first acts of the governor was to discover and recommend a remedy for this; and he suggested, in a message to the legislature, the principal provisions and outline of a system, establishing a safety fund, which was afterwards carried into operation, and, thus far at least, as will probably be admitted even by political opponents, with singular benefit to those for whose security it was devised.

He did not however remain in office to witness this result, nor that of the other measures of public utility which he contemplated and proposed. When General Jackson became president of the United States, he immediately nominated Mr. VAN BUREN to the first place in his administration, as secretary of state. This office he accepted, and resigned that of governor. A large portion of each branch of the legislature of New York, consisted at the time of his political opponents; yet such had been his uprightness and ability, that resolutions expressing the highest respect for his virtues and talents, and tendering him, in warm and affectionate terms, the good wishes of the representatives of the people, were in both unanimously passed.

Mr. VAN BUREN repaired to Washington, and on the twelfth of March, 1829, commenced the discharge of his new duties, as secretary of state, under circumstances, in one respect at least, less favorable to their successful prosecution, than any of his distinguished predecessors. Mr. Clay succeeded and served under Mr. Adams, who had himself been eight years at the head of the department. Mr. Adams stood in the same relation to Mr. Monroe, who had occupied the place under Mr. Madison. The latter had himself performed the duties for eight years under Mr. Jefferson. On the contrary, Mr. VAN BUREN entered an administration of which no member had ever occupied a place in the executive branch of the government, and served under a president who was in the same situation. The advantages of commencing the discharge of official duty so important, under the direction of those to whom it had been rendered familiar by experience, must be evident. Mr. VAN BUREN received no aid of this kind. He had to possess

himself of that minute acquaintance with the actual condition of our foreign affairs, which is indispensable to a correct management of the department, by a laborious examination of its archives; and, once become master of these, he devoted himself to its business with the same system and industry that he had displayed in every previous public station. The records of his administration will show, that at no previous period of the government was there as much official labor performed in the same time, or successful results to so many negotiations, as during those two years; and even though the credit of this be awarded, as it justly may be in an eminent degree, to the high character, perseverance, and courage of the chief magistrate under whose views of policy Mr. VAN BUREN acted, he is yet entitled to great merit for the talent, fidelity, and zeal he displayed, in assisting to produce these brilliant consequences. The long contested colonial question between the United States and Great Britain, which had been suspended by the preceding administration as hopeless, was resumed, elaborately discussed, and finally adjusted, on terms previously sought by the United States. New negotiations were opened with France, relative to our claims for commercial spoliations, which had existed for more than twenty years, and also to her demand of commercial preferences under the eighth article of the treaty of Louisiana. Both of these were thoroughly investigated under the instructions of Mr. VAN BUREN, and the whole matter settled by treaty, in a manner highly satisfactory, very shortly after he left the department of state. Denmark had presented her ultimatum in respect to similar claims of our citizens, which had not been accepted; negotiation was resumed under new instructions, and an adjustment effected by which an indemnity, nearly fourfold larger than that previously offered, was secured. Spain had positively refused redress for her depredations upon our commerce, and so pertinaciously adhered to her system of discrimination, that all negotiation on the subject had ceased; the question however was again opened under new and very full instructions from Mr. VAN BUREN; the matter was ably and vigorously prosecuted by his successor; a satisfactory indemnity was secured: and notwithstanding the proverbial repugnance of the Spanish government to make any change in its commercial policy, it was induced to consent to an abolition of discriminating duties, and to the adoption of the regulations offered by the United States to all nations. Indemnity was obtained from Portugal for depredations upon our commerce, and she consented to repeal the prohibitory duties which she had for a long time imposed upon our rice, in favor of that of

Brazil. Efforts, commenced by Mr. Jefferson and continued through the succeeding administrations, to place our trade with the Levant on a favorable and permanent footing, and to secure a passage for our shipping to the Black Sea, were revived, and a treaty concluded with Turkey, which has given stability and prosperity to our commerce, in that interesting portion of the world. A negotiation opened by the preceding administration with Austria was brought to a satisfactory conclusion by a commercial treaty. For many years it had been an object to form a commercial treaty with Russia, and repeated attempts to do so had been made; these were renewed: a minister was despatched to that country with instructions in which the whole subject was fully examined; and the views of the United States were communicated without reserve. Through adverse circumstances, this effort failed of success at the time; but when Mr. Livingston succeeded Mr. VAN BUREN, he renewed it with complete success. With Mexico our affairs were found to be in the worst condition. The ratification of a treaty already concluded had been suspended in the Mexican congress; jealousies and suspicions of an aggravated nature had been excited against us; and such was the position of affairs, that the respect guarantied to the diplomatic character, was actually violated in the person of our minister. A new minister was despatched to Mexico; the injustice and impolicy of her course were strongly and unreservedly pointed out; and difficulties, which threatened an immediate rupture, were removed in such a manner, as to uphold our dignity and rights, and place the relations of the two nations on the best footing of which they were susceptible. With the republic of Colombia similar difficulties had arisen. The head of that government had become impressed with the belief that we were unfriendly to his country and to himself, and this feeling had been communicated to his official associates. Its effects were seen in the unfriendly temper manifested towards our minister, in a refusal to listen to the just claims of our citizens, and in the imposition of prohibitory duties on flour, our chief export to that part of South America. A minister was sent with full instructions prepared by Mr. VAN BUREN on all these subjects, and his mission was attended with complete success. Good feeling was restored, the American claims were in a great degree adjusted, the exorbitant duties on flour were reduced to the standard proposed by our government, and the most liberal relations in all respects established. This series of most interesting and important arrangements, relative to the foreign intercourse of his country, so successfully conducted by Mr. VAN BUREN, in an administration of but two years' duration, is a proof of

political industry, sagacity, and talent, not surpassed in our history; and when the feelings which seem unavoidably to spring from the collisions and rivalry of parties shall have been forgotten, his claims to the respect and gratitude of his country for the able and faithful performance of this branch of official duty, will be generally and cheerfully acknowledged.

Having thus administered this important and laborious department for about two years, Mr. VAN BUREN determined to retire from that honorable trust. In June, 1831, he resigned the office of secretary of state, with the reluctant consent of the president, by whom he was soon after appointed minister to Great Britain. In thus leaving the cabinet, he abandoned without hesitation the advantages which, as a political leader, he derived from that elevated position; but believing that circumstances, personal to himself and which he could not otherwise control, rendered such a step beneficial to the influence and prospects of an administration whose measures and principles he approved, and had hitherto sustained, he at once made the voluntary and certainly unexpected sacrifice. He did not receive the appointment to England, separating him as it did from his own country, and especially from his own state, which had so often honored him, without some hesitation; but our minister there being already recalled, his own acquaintance with existing negotiations, and with the views of the administration on several open and important questions, resulting from the last war, made the president desirous that he should accept it. To these views he assented, and in August, 1831, sailed for England. On his arrival there, he was received by the government with that favor and distinction to which the high offices he had previously held gave him, perhaps, more than usual claims; and he commenced under the best auspices the interesting negotiations which he believed would be, if successful, as useful to his country as honorable to himself. While thus employed abroad, his nomination was submitted by the president at home to the senate for their constitutional advice and consent; his political opponents were at that time a majority, and after protracted debates and delays, they negatived the appointment by the casting vote of the vice-president, on the twenty sixth of January, 1832.

In consequence of this event, Mr. VAN BUREN returned home, and of course was received by his numerous friends, who approved of his public conduct, and admired his political principles and private character, with the zeal, confidence, and affection which the circumstances were calculated to excite. As the period for electing a president and vice-president of the United States was at hand, he was immediately

nominated to the latter office by the convention which selected General Jackson, a second time, as the candidate for the former. In November following, he was elected by a large majority; on the fourth of March, 1833, he took the oath of office; and in December of the same year, entered on his public duties as president of the senate. His address on that occasion elicited the applause of all parties, and was rendered the more conspicuous and honorable, by the interesting associations connected with his rejection by the body over which he was thus called to preside. The nature of his office has since removed him in a great degree from the active public exertions required by those he had previously held; but as the official head of the senate, he has merited and received the approbation of his political opponents as well as of his friends, by the simplicity and kindness of his personal deportment, and his uniform and careful attention to the duties of the chair. His term of service will expire on the fourth of March, 1837; but it having been ascertained that President Jackson, following the example of his predecessors, would then retire from public life, a numerous body of delegates, representing the democratic party of the union, assembled at Baltimore in the month of June, 1835, and unanimously presented him to the people of the United States, as a candidate for the chief executive office.

In person Mr. VAN BUREN is about the middle height; his figure is erect and graceful; his frame, though slender, capable of much exertion; the expression of his countenance, animated; and his head, large and well formed. His manners are marked by the ease and affability springing from an amiable disposition, and a long acquaintance with the world; while his moral character is unsullied by the slightest reproach, and his domestic affections have always been maintained in the utmost sincerity, purity, and warmth. He had been married, in 1806, to Miss Hannah Goes, a young lady of Columbia county; but in 1818, he was called on to endure the severest of domestic afflictions by her death. He has four sons, all of whom are still living; the eldest was bred to the army, and is now one of the aids of Major General Macombe.

As a public man making his own way from humble boyhood to the highest offices of trust and honor, he could not hope to escape the censures of political foes; and if he has sustained frequent misrepresentation and injustice, his fate has not differed from that which, in republics at least, usually awaits such a career. In one respect, too, it has been remarkable, that if distinguished by extreme violence from his opponents, it has been attended with none of those jealous rival-

ries in his own party, by which political life is so frequently embittered. His first nomination for an elective office, though not a matter of his own seeking, involved him in a canvass of unusual severity with several of the ablest men of his county, and his election was one of the warmest and closest of the times. Since that period, however, he has passed from one important office to another, not merely without the opposition, but with the cordial coöperation, in every instance, of his political associates. That confidence in his principles and that strong personal preference which were displayed in his elections as governor of New York and vice-president of the United States, as well as in his nomination for the presidency, are in fact but the same feelings which, under circumstances less prominent, led to his advancement in every other instance; and it is certainly honorable alike to himself and to the political party in the state to which he has always belonged, that although, during the last fifteen years especially, there have existed those differences of opinion, in respect to men and measures, which are inseparable from such associations, yet in no instance has Mr. VAN BUREN experienced the slightest envy or distrust. While such a circumstance gives evidence, not to be mistaken, of the superiority of his talents, it is also a proof, of which a man may be even more justly proud, that where he has been best known and most observed, he has gained and secured the highest confidence and support. A statesman who has passed through such a career, has perhaps no right to expect more; but beyond this, Mr. VAN BUREN has had the gratification to know, that even some among the most distinguished of his opponents, have sought occasion to add their testimony to his liberality, frankness, and honor.

H. D. G.

MAHLON DICKERSON.

Soon after the publication of our portrait of the late secretary of the navy, Mr. Woodbury, that gentleman was removed to the head of the treasury department, and was succeeded by the subject of the present notice.

Mahlon Dickerson was born in Morris county, New Jersey. Of his childhood and early youth we know nothing of particular interest. His education was liberal. After graduating at Princeton College he commenced the study of law, and was admitted to the New-Jersey bar, in November, 1793, and soon after began to practise in his native county, where he speedily obtained his full share of business.

In the following year he volunteered as a private in Captain Kinney's troop of horse, and served in the expedition to suppress the insurrection in the western counties of Pennsylvania. This troop was attached to the Philadelphia legion, and marched to Pittsburgh. Mr. Dickerson was in delicate health at the commencement of the campaign, but returned at the close of the year completely restored, and recommenced his practice at the bar. But he aspired to occupy a sphere of higher promise than Morris county at that time afforded, and he determined to remove to some city, where he could enjoy advantages not to be hoped for in the country. He accordingly spent the winter of 1796–7 in Philadelphia, and was kindly permitted to read the statutes of Pennsylvania, and to study the practice of law in that state, in the office of James Milnor, then a young lawyer, rising rapidly to eminence in his profession, afterwards a distinguished member of congress, now the venerable and estimable rector of St. George's church in the city of New York.

In June, 1797, Mr. Dickerson was admitted to the bar of Pennsylvania, and commenced, or rather attempted to commence, the practice of law in Philadelphia. But to acquire business in a city, without friends or acquaintances, and surrounded by competitors, was no easy task, and he found much of his time unoccupied by professional duties. His leisure was assiduously devoted to study. He revised the Latin and Greek authors which he had read at school and

college, and read others which are rarely put into the hands of students. The modern sciences of chemistry, mineralogy, and botany, were successively explored. He also renewed his mathematical and philosophical studies, and in these recreations he found a valuable associate in the late Joseph Clay, then cashier of the bank of Pennsylvania, afterwards a member of congress from Philadelphia, and highly distinguished for literature and science.

As he was a zealous democrat, Mr. DICKERSON devoted some portion of his time to writing for the papers of that party, particularly for the '*Aurora*,' the powerful organ of the party, after it went into the hands of the late Col. William Duane, with whom he acted on confidential terms. He soon acquired political and influential friends,—amongst whom may be named Chief Justice McKean, Mr. Dallas, and Mr. Duponceau, but to none was he under greater obligations than to Dr. Logan of Stenton near Philadelphia, by whose kindness he gained the friendship and confidence of Mr. Jefferson, then vice president of the United States. Mr. DICKERSON zealously participated in the political struggle of 1798, in opposition to the federal party, which was at that time in the zenith of its power.

In 1799, Chief Justice McKean was elected governor of Pennsylvania, which gave the democratic party in Philadelphia great advantage, although they were still in the minority. In 1800, they were nearly equal to their opponents; and in 1801, they carried the elections in the city by decided majorities, and Mr. DICKERSON was chosen a member of the common council—an office of no profit, but at that time of great advantage to him. His business as well as friends rapidly increased, and he was soon after appointed solicitor for the corporation, which at once put him on a footing with those much older in the profession than himself. In 1802, President Jefferson conferred upon him the appointment of commissioner of bankruptcy for the district of Pennsylvania, in company with Mr. Dallas, John Sergeant, and Joseph Clay; and in 1804, he offered him the appointment of district attorney of the newly acquired territory of Louisiana. This was an important office to a young lawyer; but Mr. DICKERSON found himself so advantageously situated in Philadelphia, that he declined the offer.

In 1805, he was appointed by Governor McKean adjutant-general of Pennsylvania; he resigned this office in 1808, on being appointed recorder of Philadelphia, which office he continued to hold as long as he remained in that city. Thus far his offices had interfered but little with his practice, which had become lucrative.

In November, 1805, his father, Jonathan Dickerson, died at his place in Sussex county, New Jersey, the care of whose estate devolved upon a younger brother, who dying about a year after, left it to the charge of Mr. DICKERSON. The attention necessary to his private affairs, seriously interfered with his official and professional duties; he therefore concluded to relinquish his office and business, and in 1810 he again became a resident of Morris county, where, however, he never meant to resume his profession, but to attend to his valuable iron mines, and to the cultivation of his lands.

In 1811 he was elected a member of the legislature of New Jersey, and again in 1812. In that body he advocated all the measures which he deemed necessary to bring the aid of the state to the support of the general government, in the war which had been declared against Great Britain.

In 1813 he was appointed a judge of the supreme court of New Jersey. In 1815 he was elected governor of the state, and was re-elected in 1816. In 1817 he resigned that office, on being appointed a senator of the United States.

Mr. DICKERSON took his seat in the senate on the 4th of March, 1817, and continued a member for sixteen successive years. He exercised for ten years the duties of chairman of the joint library committee of the two houses of congress. He was for several years chairman of the committee of commerce and manufactures; and when the subjects of commerce were, upon his application, assigned to another committee, he continued chairman of the committee of manufactures while he remained a member of the senate. He labored with much zeal to promote the commercial, agricultural, and the manufacturing industry of the country—the true sources of national wealth—and as he believed that the interests of commerce and navigation had received more protection from government than manufactures, and that the interests of agriculture required less, his efforts were chiefly in favor of manufactures. He considers the right of laying discriminating duties upon foreign importations, as of vital importance to the country, and an abandonment of its exercise as a suicidal policy.

By the instructions of the legislature of New Jersey, he on several occasions advocated a proposition, so to amend the constitution of the United States, that every state should be divided into electoral districts for electing a president and vice-president of the United States. He also advocated the propriety of so altering the constitution, that the service of any one person as president, should be limited to two terms of four years each. He believes such an amendment necessary for

the preservation of our present democratic form of government; and he prefers the adoption of the rule of two terms to one, inasmuch as a change every four years would keep the country in a state of agitation. A president fairly elected by a majority of the people, would generally be elected to a second term without a struggle. And should he in the first instance obtain his place against the will of a majority, as may possibly happen under our present system, it presents a fair occasion for the corrective and healthful exercise of the strength of the people.

He was an early advocate for the distribution of the surplus funds of the United States among the several states, in proportion to their population. And with him originated the bill for limiting the term of office to four years, to all collecting and disbursing officers, which has had a more decided effect in producing prompt settlements of accounts, than any measure heretofore devised.

Mr. DICKERSON retired from the senate of the United States on the 4th of March, 1833, and left in that body not one who was a member when he entered it, on the 4th of March, 1817. Mr. Ruggles, of Ohio, was a member in 1817, and continued until the 4th of March, 1833; but went out on that day. So that in this body, which was considered much more permanent than the house of representatives, a complete change took place in sixteen years.

Mr. DICKERSON was not long permitted to remain in retirement. In May, 1834, he was nominated by the president to the senate as minister to Russia; and his nomination was confirmed. In June following he repaired to Washington for his instructions, and to make the necessary preparations for leaving the United States on his mission.

When about to leave Washington to take his departure for Europe, some changes in the cabinet induced the President to offer to Mr. DICKERSON the appointment of secretary of the navy, to which, after some hesitation, he assented, and was immediately nominated to the senate for that place. He again experienced the kind feelings of the members of that body towards him, and his nomination was confirmed on the 30th of June; and on the 1st of July, 1834, he commenced the exercise of his new and highly important office.

Mr. DICKERSON is now (1836) sixty-five years of age, but has the appearance of a much younger man. He is full six feet in height, unassuming in his manners, of a plain exterior, but amiable and kind-hearted. He has the reputation of being firm and energetic, sensible and discreet, indefatigable in his pursuits, and faithful in the discharge of the duties of his station.

FELIX GRUNDY.

FELIX GRUNDY was born on the 11th September, 1777, in Berkley county, Virginia. His father was a native of England. He emigrated to America in early life, and settled on the frontier of Virginia, while it was yet a British province, and at that time greatly exposed to Indian depredations. In 1779, he removed from Virginia to Red Stone, Old Fort, on the Monongahela river, in Pennsylvania, the place which at this time bears the name of Brownsville; at this place his eldest son was killed by the Indians. In the following year, 1780, he removed to Kentucky, where FELIX lived from childhood to maturity, and where he imbibed that loftiness of sentiment and independence of character, which so eminently characterizes the people of the western country, and where his youthful mind first received that impetus, which has borne him onward to fortune and to fame.

Kentucky was at that time the seat of the most cruel and sanguinary Indian warfare, which continued with unabated fury, for several years after the revolution. Safety from danger and alarm was long unknown to the regions of the west; and they who were too young to participate in the toils of war, were continually exposed to its most ruthless barbarities, and from their infancy were made familiar with scenes of carnage and devastation. The greatest evils are not often without countervailing benefits. It is, probably, in a great degree owing to this state of things, that Kentucky and Tennessee are indebted for that fearless independence and force of character, which so eminently distinguish their citizens. MR. GRUNDY'S family shared largely in the sufferings of that day. A striking picture of those perilous times is given in his own eloquent language in a speech delivered by him in the senate of the United States, in February, 1830, from which the following is an extract:

"I thank the senator from Missouri (Mr. Benton) for all the kind feeling he has manifested towards the ancient sufferings of the west. Sir, they were great. I know it. I need turn to no document to teach me what they were. They are written upon my memory — a part of them upon my heart. We, the honored men whom you see here,

are but the remnant — the savings — the wreck of large families lost in effecting the early settlement of the west. If I look to the right or to the left, or all around, I see monuments of ancient suffering and woe. Ask my colleague (General Desha), who sits near me, what he remembers? He will tell you that while his father was in pursuit of one party of Indians, another party came and murdered two of his brothers. Inquire of yonder governor of Arkansas (Governor Pope), what became of his brother-in-law, Oldham? He will tell you, that he went out to battle, but never returned. Ask that honorable representative (Mr. Wickliffe), where is your uncle, the gallant Hardin? He was intrepid enough to carry a flag of truce under the direction of government to the hostile savages; they did not recognise the right to protection, which the flag of peace threw around him, and they slew him. If I turn to my old class-mate and friend (Mr. Rowan), one of the ancient sons of the wilderness, now a grave, a wise, and potent senator, I am reminded of a mother's courage and intrepidity in the son whom she rescued from savage hands, when in the very grasp of death.

"Mr. President, I was too young to participate in these dangers and difficulties, but I can remember when death was in almost every bush, and every thicket concealed an ambuscade. If I am asked to trace my memory back, and name the first indelible impression it received, it would be the sight of my eldest brother bleeding and dying under the wounds inflicted by the tomahawk and scalping-knife. *Another* and *another* went in the same way. I have seen a widowed mother plundered of her whole property in a single night; from affluence and ease, reduced to poverty in a moment, and thereby compelled to labor with her own hands to educate her last and favorite son, who now addresses you. Sir, I remember the two companies spoken of by the senator from Missouri, sent by Virginia to our relief. They were called *Rangers*; composed of stout rough-looking men, not fit for courts or palaces; but each man was a *man* — to us they were angels of deliverance. They guarded us, and fed us upon the game of the wilderness. In my opinion, sir, one company of them (seventy-five men) was of more real value than as many office-holders of the present day as could stand in the Pennsylvania Avenue between the capitol and the president's house.

"These scenes are past; and now shall I throw censure upon the old states for want of a proper regard for the interests of the west? I cannot do it, so far as Kentucky is concerned. The greatest sufferings there, were from the first of the year 1780, until the fall of 1782. During all that period, the old states were contending for their own safety; and, although Cornwallis surrendered in October, 1781, it was not until after the battle of the Blue Licks, which took place in August, 1782, that such assurances of peace between Great Britain and the United States were entertained, as would justify sending a force to the western country. It was not until the 30th of November, 1782, that the preliminaries of a peace were signed; and from that period, such was the rapid increase of the Kentucky population, that the Indian war was soon transferred to the enemy's country.

"The citizens of Tennessee suffered to a much later period. There the insufficiency of the protection afforded by congress, was deeply felt long after the war with Great Britain had ended; and it was not until Whitley (the same brave man who fell at the battle of the Thames) took his Kentucky volunteers, and united them with men of the same description raised in Tennessee, and marched them, without any authority from the government, against the Cherokees at the Nicajack towns, and conquered them, that any security was afforded to the citizens of Tennessee."

In the midst of perils like these, the early childhood of Mr. GRUNDY passed away. The means of literary instruction existed in the western country in a very limited degree. Though he was distin-

guished by a fondness for learning, and a capacity for improvement beyond his years, and it was the highest ambition of his widowed parent to gratify his inclination, yet the want of seminaries, and the insufficiency of his patrimony, seemed almost to forbid the hope of indulgence. But no circumstance, however discouraging to ordinary minds, could overcome her resolution to give him a liberal education.

About this time, Dr. James Priestly, late president of the Nashville University, established his celebrated academy at Bardstown, Kentucky, in which all the rudiments of a liberal education, both literary and scientific, were successfully taught. Among the students of this seminary were Rowan, Pope, Harrison, Allen, Davis, Cameron, and several others besides the subject of this memoir, who have eminently distinguished themselves in public life, in the pulpit, at the bar, on the bench, in the field, in medicine, and in legislation. The remark of an old Kentucky farmer, if not classical in its style, is perhaps literally true: "That this was the best crop of men that Kentucky ever produced."

Some of the students, when received into this academy, had already made considerable progress in the Latin language at other institutions; GRUNDY and Rowan had received only a common English education. That generous emulation, which is the most powerful stimulant of genius, and the surest indication of future eminence, began at this early period to animate their youthful bosoms. They formed the resolution to overtake and to pass those whose previous advantages had placed them in advance of them. With unremitting perseverance they adhered to their resolution; and in the course of the first year, they accomplished the object; they alone forming the first class in the institution. A rivalship then grew up between themselves, which their preceptor encouraged by promising that neither should be delayed on account of the other. For six months, while studying the Greek language and the higher Latin classics, neither disclosed to the other the extent of his intended recitation; and yet, there was at no time any material difference. Dr. Priestly at length became alarmed for the health of his favorite pupils, and advised a more temperate course of study, and a greater relaxation from labor. This counsel was, in some measure, acquiesced in; yet they continued their application with uncommon assiduity, and finished their education at the same time, each felicitating himself in the consciousness, that among his fellow students he had but one equal in the acquisition of knowledge.

FELIX was the seventh son of his parents in regular succession, and it was probably from the ancient prejudice attached to this cir-

cumstance, that he was at an early period destined, in the mind of his family, to the profession of medicine; but while receiving his education, he had given such proofs of talent for public speaking, as to overcome this predilection; and, in accordance with his own choice, he became a student of law. His legal studies were completed under the direction of Colonel George Nicholas, who was a counsellor of the greatest eminence, and at that time acknowledged to be at the head of the Kentucky bar. The talents and application of the student secured to him the permanent friendship of his preceptor. The attachment of Colonel Nicholas to Mr. GRUNDY continued to the day of his death; and it was reciprocated with enthusiastic veneration. When, in 1799, the convention of Kentucky for the revisal of the constitution of that state was in session, Colonel Nicholas came to the lobby and sent for Mr. GRUNDY, who was a member of the convention. After retiring with him alone, he said, "Mr. GRUNDY, you have commenced political life. Now be honest in all your purposes, and never deceive the people, and your success is certain." This advice was delivered and received, as the dying counsel of a wise preceptor to a favorite student, in whose welfare he took the deepest interest. Colonel Nicholas was then afflicted with the disease, which in a few days terminated his life. The impression which this solemn charge made upon the mind of Mr. GRUNDY, is indelible. He has often repeated it; and his public career has fulfilled the prophecy it contained.

Immediately upon his admission to the bar, Mr. GRUNDY'S success equalled the sanguine anticipations of his friends, and he soon afterwards married Miss Ann P. Rodgers. She has borne him eleven children, and she still lives, the solace of all his cares, and the happy partner of his fortunes. He is always happy at home, and his family is always happy when he is there.

Mr. GRUNDY secured the confidence of his fellow-citizens so soon as he was known among them; and in very early life, he was called by them to places of high political trust. In 1799, a convention was called to revise the constitution of Kentucky, of which he was elected a member from the county of Washington, though but in the twenty-second year of his age. In this body he distinguished himself as an able debater. At that time the district court system existed in Kentucky, by which the citizens of five or six counties, were brought to a single place for the trial of their causes. Mr. GRUNDY was of opinion, that the administration of the laws would be more convenient, and justice in their application more certain and complete, if the circuit

court system should be introduced, by which the trials should be had in each of the several counties. To effect this object, he proposed to make it a part of the constitution of the state. In this he was opposed by John Breckenridge, a senator in congress, and afterwards attorney-general of the United States, and by others of acknowledged talents and great legal acquirements. A long and interesting debate occurred, in which Mr. GRUNDY took the lead in opposition to these experienced politicians; and although he failed in his object, he gained for himself great reputation, and laid the foundation of future success. From 1799, he continued for several years a member of the Kentucky legislature; and at every session he regularly proposed his favorite circuit court system, and urged it with unwearied perseverance, till he finally succeeded in procuring its adoption. Of that system, in Kentucky, which experience has demonstrated to be most salutary, Mr. GRUNDY is the acknowledged author. His influence carried it through both houses; but it received the *veto* of the governor, and was returned to the house of representatives, in which it originated. It was repassed in that house and also in the senate by the constitutional majority; and Mr. GRUNDY had the gratification of succeeding in his favorite measure; the governor's objections to the contrary notwithstanding.

Mr. GRUNDY, in common with many republicans of that day, was unwilling to see his country become a banking community. In 1802, a bill was reported to the legislature of Kentucky, having for its ostensible design, the incorporation of an insurance company in the town of Lexington. The supposed object was approved, and the bill passed without much examination into its details. It soon appeared that the real intention had not been disclosed, except to a few who were friendly to it. It soon became generally known, however, from the company assuming, under the ambiguous phraseology of one of the clauses of the charter, the power of establishing a bank. When this intention was disclosed, Mr. GRUNDY avowed his determination to propose a repeal of the charter, upon the ground that it was fraudulently and surreptitiously obtained. Henry Clay was at this time a member of the Kentucky legislature, and warmly opposed Mr. GRUNDY'S proposition to repeal the law. On this question, that memorable debate took place between them, in which they alternately occupied the attention of the general assembly for six days. The discussion was conducted with great ability and eloquence on both sides; and after a long and doubtful strife, the bill to repeal the law passed both houses of the legislature. It was laid before the governor,

who interposed his constitutional *veto*, and returned it to the house in which it originated, with his objections. The great popularity of the governor was now thrown into the scale against the repeal. The debate was renewed between the same parties with redoubled interest on both sides; and after another long and earnest contest, the bill again passed the house of representatives by the constitutional majority, but for want of the same majority in the senate it was lost.

The state of Kentucky had sold her public lands in small tracts, which were to be paid for in annual instalments. Mr. GRUNDY had never yielded his assent to a system which would render the citizens debtors to the state, and dependent upon legislative forbearance for their homes and their subsistence. The purchasers had mostly become the settlers; and in their efforts to convert the wilderness into cultivated fields, many of them were unable to meet the payments with punctuality. While Mr. GRUNDY was a member of the legislature, constant efforts were made to procure a forfeiture of those lands, and their re-sale to others. To this resort, he opposed the whole weight of his talents and his influence. Although he had deprecated a measure which reduced citizens to this state of dependence, he still more strongly deprecated the proposed measure which would drive them from their homes, while the fruit of their labors would be enjoyed by others more fortunate. He always advocated a moderate course of indulgence; the course which, greatly through his influence, has been pursued; and its result has been to secure the interest of the state in its claims, and at the same time to confirm the settlers of the wilderness in the enjoyment of their well-earned possessions.

He continued a member of the legislature till the fall of 1806, when he was appointed one of the judges of the supreme court of errors and appeals by the nomination of the governor and a unanimous confirmation of the senate. Soon after his appointment to the supreme court, Judge Todd was transferred from the bench of the state, to that of the supreme court of the United States, when Mr. GRUNDY was appointed chief justice of Kentucky. In this situation, he was alike distinguished for his industry, impartiality, and ability. The delays of justice are sometimes as injurious as its perversion; and to remove this evil, he and his associates held an almost perpetual term for the dispatch of business, during the time he continued chief justice.

The wants of a growing family required further provision than was afforded by the compensation attached to his office, and he considered it his duty to leave the bench for the more lucrative labors of the bar. He therefore resigned his office in the winter of 1807–8, and removed

to Nashville, in Tennessee, where he obtained a standing in the first rank of his profession, though Haywood, Whitesides, and other equally distinguished *jurists*, were among his competitors. But the branch of his profession in which he most excelled, was that of criminal defence. In this department, he was unrivalled. In every important criminal prosecution his services were desired as an advocate for the accused; and when obtained, they were regarded as a guarantee of justice at least. To aid him in defence, was all that others aspired to: none claimed equality with him in this branch of the profession; and in his own part of the country, for more than twenty years, until his duties in the senate of the United States gave a different direction to his talents, he held what is called the criminal practice in his own hands. His reputation spread through other states, and in trials for capital offences, he was employed in Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, and Illinois. After his settlement in Nashville, it is understood that of an hundred and five individuals charged with capital offences, who had the benefit of his services, one only was finally condemned and executed. It may well be doubted whether equal success ever attended the efforts of any other advocate in any country.

The aggressions of Great Britain upon the rights of this country had long been a subject of complaint; and remonstrance had been answered only by reiterated acts of injustice, till our national sovereignty was insulted, and our independence threatened. Mr. GRUNDY was the friend of peace. All his principles and pursuits induced him to cultivate amity, both in his personal relations, and in his public duties.

Dearly as he loved peace, however, he loved freedom more. He was opposed to the shedding of blood; but still more to degradation. He was fixed in the opinion, that the injuries inflicted upon our country called for redress, and that it would be incompatible with national honor and sovereignty, longer to endure them. To contribute the weight of his talents in giving efficacy to what he believed to be public sentiment upon this subject, he consented at the solicitation of his fellow citizens, to become a candidate for congress. The whole of West Tennessee at that time formed but one congressional district; and by that district he was elected with great unanimity, in 1811. In this body he successfully advocated the principles on which he was chosen, and soon became one of the most active, useful, and prominent members. He was placed on the committee of foreign relations, at that time the most important in congress. He continued a member during four sessions, giving a most efficient support to the

administration throughout that arduous struggle, when he felt at liberty to yield to the call of domestic duties, arising from family afflictions, and retired to private life. Soon after this, when the war, to the support of which he had given the powerful aid of his talents and eloquence in congress, had terminated by the most brilliant achievement of modern warfare, his fellow-citizens naturally turned to him to prepare and deliver a congratulatory address to the hero of New Orleans, on his return to Nashville, which he accomplished in a manner worthy of his own high reputation, and the deserts of the illustrious man, who was coming from the toils and dangers of war, to the bosom of his enthusiastic and admiring neighbors.

He continued in private life till 1819, when he yielded to the wishes of the citizens of his county, and became a member of the legislature of Tennessee. To this body, his preëminent talents and commanding influence rendered him an invaluable acquisition. The boundary line between Tennessee and Kentucky, had long been a subject of controversy, which was at this time assuming an aspect that threatened the harmony of the two states. Legislative resolutions and negotiations by authorized commissioners, had failed to effect any agreement. The citizens of these two states are of the same character—generous, brave, and independent, strong in their friendship; but high spirited and resolute in maintaining their rights. Neither would yield what they believed to be their just claims, and neither was satisfied with the demands of the other. The prospect of adjustment had become almost hopeless, when the legislature of Tennessee appointed Mr. GRUNDY and William L. Brown, Esq., another distinguished member of the Tennessee bar, with full authority to proceed to the Kentucky legislature, then about to assemble, and enter into an arrangement for the final settlement of the controversy. So entire was the confidence of the general assembly of Tennessee in their two commissioners, that any adjustment which should be made by them, was declared by the act authorizing the negotiation to be "final and conclusive, and not to require the ratification of the state." A spirit of conciliation and liberal feeling on the part of the Tennessee commissioners was introduced into the negotiation and reciprocated on the part of Kentucky. The result of this conciliatory course was an amicable adjustment of all the matters in controversy to the mutual satisfaction of both states, and fully justified the unprecedented confidence, which had been placed by the legislature of Tennessee, in the prudence, skill, integrity and ability of her negotiators.

The extraordinary change in the amount and value of the circu-

lating medium of the country, which took place in 1818, 19, and 20, produced a general pressure in the west. It was so deeply felt in Tennessee, that legislative interference was loudly called for, by a suffering community. The governor of the state convened the legislature in 1820, for the express purpose of providing relief. An interference between the debtor and creditor was proposed. Mr. GRUNDY regarded the contract which existed between the parties, entered into under the sanction of the law, as of too sacred a character to be violated by the passage of what are usually denominated relief laws. Yet he was so deeply impressed with the necessity of some measure calculated to save the great community of debtors from ruin, and without violating the obligation of contracts, that he introduced a bill to establish a bank exclusively upon the funds of the state, a large amount of which had recently been collected from the sale of its public lands, and which he wished to be loaned in small sums to individuals for their relief, under such restrictions as would be calculated to effect the object, and with such securities as would ensure its eventual return to the public coffers. This measure was warmly opposed by some of the ablest and most influential men of the state, and particularly by P. M. Miller, Esq., a member from Knox county, who took the lead in the opposition. He was a man of great genius and talent, of whom Mr. GRUNDY has often said, "that he considered him one of the most skillful and able men he ever contended with in a deliberative assembly." Mr. GRUNDY, however, prevailed. The bill was passed into a law. The bank was established. It afforded the desired relief to the community; and but for the faithlessness of some of the agents employed in its management, it would have yielded great profit to the state.

Mr. GRUNDY continued a member of the legislature of Tennessee for six years, when he declined a reëlection, and again retired to private life, but whether in public or private life, his fellow-citizens relied upon his services, whenever an extraordinary occasion called for them. To him, therefore, as in other states, the most distinguished orator of each had been chosen, they looked for an oration on the occurrence of one of the most remarkable events of history—the extraordinary cotemporaneous death of Jefferson and Adams, on the 4th of July, exactly half a century after the one had penned, and the other by his fervid eloquence, had sustained the declaration of independence in the illustrious congress of 1776. This oration has been selected and published among those deemed most worthy of preservation.

In 1829, on the accession of General Jackson to the presidency,

Mr. GRUNDY was elected a member of the senate of the United States, to which he was reëlected in 1833; and in a body, more distinguished than it ever has been since its institution for extraordinary talent, he continued to be, as he was on his first introduction into it, one of the most efficient, discreet, and able supporters of the prominent measures of the administration.

Mr. GRUNDY's stature is of the ordinary height; his form inclined to portliness; his complexion ruddy; his hair light brown, mixed with gray, and his eyes blue. His countenance is intelligent, and its expression mild, cheerful and benevolent, indicative of contentment and happiness; yet it shows much decision and firmness of purpose. His manners are amiable, unaffected, kind, and conciliating in a high degree. His conversation is entertaining and instructive, abounding in humor and playful wit, and occasionally sarcastic and severe. He never permits the excitement of political contention to sour his temper, or to interrupt or embitter social intercourse. He has therefore few personal enemies, and he often finds warm friends amongst his political opponents. His even and cheerful disposition renders him the delight of the domestic circle, in all the relations of which he exhibits an example worthy of imitation. He draws his morals from the pure fountain of Christian ethics—and is severe only with himself, being always charitable and lenient towards others. In his transactions and intercourse with his fellow men, his conduct is always under the control of an inflexible sense of justice and integrity.

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